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BOOK I OF WILLIAM THE BRETON'S *PHILIPPIDE*: A TRANSLATION

BY

GREGORY P. STRINGER
BA History, BA Classical Civilization, Boston University, 2002

THESIS

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

May, 2010

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This thesis has been examined and approved.

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5 / 5 / 2010

Date

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DEDICATION

Matri,

quae merita digno decoreris honore

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a truism that bears repeating that a project such as this incurs many debts along the way. I gladly take the opportunity here to thank some of those people and institutions here.

First and foremost, I can only inadequately express my debt of gratitude to Professor David S. Bachrach who, in the words of William the Breton, has been my Palinurus through the rough seas of a project that has been far more challenging (and rewarding) than I could have possibly imagined at the outset. Equally as important, Professor R. Scott Smith of the Classics department generously volunteered to meet with me weekly, even during his sabbatical, all throughout the course of this project to pour over every line. Whatever elegance there may be in my translation is entirely due to his guidance. Finally, Professor Elizabeth W. Mellyn has been an incomparable editor, a true friend, and a most welcome mediator as I sought to please the divergent desires of a historian and a philologist. Her uncompromising critical eye has repeatedly saved this project from utter failure.

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helping me to maintain my sanity as I struggled with even the simplest of bureaucratic issues.

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constant companion and guide as I navigated the difficulties of first-time archival research. The staff of the Richelieu annex of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris also deserve acknowledgement for their patient assistance. My long suffering friends Kathy and Tim Rowe generously offered their couch yet again, making possible an inspection of the London manuscript. The staff of the National Library in London were both knowledgeable and kind to an inexperienced researcher. Finally, Alessandro Costantino welcomed me once more, allowing me to process my research in the idyllic setting of his home in Rome. To him and all my friends in the Eternal City, a heartfelt "grazie" is in order.

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ABSTRACT

BOOK I OF WILLIAM THE BRETON'S *PHILIPPIDE*:

A TRANSLATION

by

Gregory P. Stringer

University of New Hampshire, May, 2010

Among the contemporary narrative sources for the reign of King Philip II Augustus of France [r. 1179-1223], William the Breton's thirteenth-century epic poem the *Philippide* [written ca. 1215-1225] is the least well known and the least utilized. This thesis represents the first English language translation of a significant portion of the *Philippide*. The introduction explores William the Breton's life and works; the poem's sources, classical and contemporary; William the Breton's vocabulary and poetic voice; William the Breton's self-conception as a historian and a narrator, as demonstrated in his surviving works; and the overall theme and structure of the *Philippide*. It also includes as an appendix the first English translation of the relevant sections of William the Breton's *Epitome* of Rigord of St. Denis' contemporary *Chronicle*, upon which the *Philippide* is based.

This translation endeavors to introduce this fascinating text to an Anglophone audience, while simultaneously challenging prevailing assumptions about the *Philippide* in specific and, more broadly, about the nature and state of literature at the turn of the thirteenth-century in France.

INTRODUCTION

Among the contemporary narrative sources for the reign of King Philip II Augustus (r. 1179-1223), William the Breton's *Philippide*, a twelve book epic poem based on the prose chronicles of the king's reign, is the least well known and the least utilized by scholars.[1] There are many good reasons for this—the absence of an accurate modern translation of the work, the author's stylized Classical Latin, and a general distrust among historians of poetic panegyric as a valuable historical source.[2] The

[1] Although most scholars who have authored a sizable study on France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have consulted the work, it seems that very few have gone beyond the citation of those lines which supported their argument. The exceptions are Georges Duby, *Le Dimanche de Bouvines* (Paris, 1973) translated into English as *The Legend of Bouvines*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Berkeley, CA, 1990) who cited long passages of the poem and demonstrated familiarity with its overall content and structure; John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1986) whose long chapter on royal ideology bespeaks a strong familiarity with much of the work and whose article "Le sens de Bouvines," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, v. 30, no. 2 (1987) 119-130 is the only study to directly explore the themes of the *Philippide*; and Gabrielle M. Spiegel who discussed the poem generally in *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, MA, 1978) and demonstrated a familiarity equal to that of Baldwin in her article, "The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni: A New Look," *French Historical Studies,* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Autumn, 1971) 145-174 and *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, CA, 1993). Elisabeth Robert-Barzman has looked at later books of the *Philippide* in "La conquête de la Normandie dans la *Philippide* de Guillaume le Breton: 'Sic fuit ex toto Normannia subdita Franco quod nullo casu contingere posse putavit [VII, 176-177]" in Flambard Héricher, Anne-Marie; Gazeau, Véronique (ed.), *1204: la Normandie entre Plantagenets et Capétiens* (Caen, 2007) 153-188 and in a very brief study, "Guerre et fortification dans la *Philippide* de Guillaume le Breton; approches archéologiques," *Military studies in medieval Europe* (1997) 7-19. Finally, William the Breton has recently received some attention from Elisabeth Carpentier in a series of articles that discuss general topics of Capetian historiography, although they focus almost exclusively on William's *Chronicle* and not the *Philippide*. They are: Elisabeth Carpentier, "Histoire et informatique. Recherches sur le vocabulaire des biographies royales françaises," in *Cahiers de Civilisation médiéval* 25 (1982) 3-30, "Les histories royaux et le pouvoir capétien; d'Helgaud de Fleury a Guillaume le Breton," in *L'Historiographie Médiévale en Europe* (Paris, 1991) 129-139, and "Le Combattant médiéval: problèmes de vocabulaire de Suger à Guillaume le Breton," in *Le Combattant au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1995) 25-35.

[2] François Guizot's 1825 French translation is the only complete modern translation of the *Philippide*. As discussed below, Guizot took certain liberties with the text. This translation has recently been republished without the original introduction as *La Philippide,* trans. F. Guizot (Paris, 2004). In 1841, Octave Delepierre found Guizot's translation unsatisfactory and so provided a new French translation of those sections of the *Philippide* relevant to his study of the history of Flanders in the Middle Ages. Octave Delepierre, *Philippide de Guillaume-le-Breton: Extraits concernant les guerres de Flandre*, in *Recueil de Chroniques, Chartres et autres documents concernant l'histoire et les Antiquités de la Flandre-Occidentale* (Bruges, 1841). For further comment on Guizot's translation see below, p. 66. On William's Latin, which

nineteenth-century French antiquarian François Guizot, who produced the only complete translation, rendering it into French in 1825, dismissed the poem as lacking "any art of composition, any conception of epic, [and] any originality."[3] Furthermore, Guizot unequivocally declared that "William was not a great poet, as some scholars have suggested."[4] This in spite of the fact that, as Guizot himself acknowledged, the previous editors of the *Philippide* had generally received William the Breton's epic quite well.[5] However, the absence of any full treatment of the work in the twentieth-century demonstrates that, it is Guizot's condemnation which has prevailed.[6]

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has often been deemed "difficult," see below pp. 33-35. I contend that the Latin in the *Philippide*, while certainly more difficult than most medieval chronicles, is not any more complex than anything in Virgil or Ovid. Perhaps a lack of familiarity with Classical Latin poetry has led certain scholars to deem it difficult. See below, n. 124.

[3] Francois Guizot, *La Philippide* (Paris, 1825), "Notice sur Guillaume le Breton," vii: "Non que Guillaume soit un grand poète, comme l'ont pensé quelques érudites, toujours émus d'une paternelle admiration pour le manuscrit qu'ils ont lu presque seuls, ou mis au jour les premiers; aucun art de composition, aucune conception épique, aucune invention, ne se rencontrent dans son ouvrage; car quelques descriptions brillantes, quelques tirades animées par un sentiment énergique et vrai, ne font pas un épopée." However, it should be noted that Guizot's condemnation was not complete. In fact, the next page (viii) continues: "Il est évident que Guillaume le Breton a déjà conçu de la poésie une idée plus juste et plus élevée; il sent qu'elle est appelée a retracer autre chose que des faits sans couleur et sans vie, qu'elle à le pouvoir de transporter l'imagination au milieu des scènes qu'elle représente, et qu'elle doit par conséquent les animer de toutes les circonstances, de tous les détails propres à produire sur l'esprit des lecteurs une impression semblable à celle qu'ont dû recevoir les témoins de l'action même. *La Philippide* sort donc de la sécheresse d'une pure narration." Recent appraisals have not been much kinder. Duby (*The Legend of Bouvines*, 151) described the poem as a "panegyric, whose reading we now find tedious," and Bradbury (*Philip Augustus*, xiii) called it "almost interminable."

[4] Guizot, *La Philippide*, vii.

[5] The *Philippide* was printed several times in the early modern period, and it was well received by the scholars who worked with it, as Guizot himself acknowledges. For example, the seventeenth century editor of the *Philippide*, Caspar Barth, had called William the Breton "the Ovidian genius." As quoted in Albert Pannenborg, *Zur Kritik der Philipis* (Zurich, 1880) 16. Also, it was the subject of three major studies in the second half of the nineteenth-century. See the following note. For the comments of Guizot, see the previous note. One can only speculate how much Guizot's own political circumstances in 1825 (during the period of his ousting from the government of Charles X) contributed to his evaluation of the *Philippide*, a royal panegyric, as a work of literature.

[6] Apart from Guizot's translation, in the second half of the nineteenth-century the *Philippide* attracted the attention of three major works of scholarship. The first of these is the Latin thesis of Charles Antoine Gidel, *De Philippide Guillelmi Britonis disputatio* (Paris, 1857). Next, there followed a lengthy specialized study in German that accompanied the publication of sections of the poem relevant to German history in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historia* (1882) by Albert Pannenborg, the aforementioned 1880 *Zur Kritik der Philipis*. Finally, H. François Delaborde collated all three surviving manuscripts and published the only complete critical edition with a detailed introduction in French in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le*

The *Philippide* needs to be reevaluated as a work of poetry. Heretofore, modern scholars, following Guizot, have dismissed the *Philippide* as an imitation of the Walter of Châtillon's popular epic poem, the *Alexandreis*, or simply "part of a vogue ...for classicizing epics."[7] Rather, standing at the culmination of more than a century of literary reinvention and experimentation, William's poem is a significant testament to the richness and diversity of the education and literary production of the "twelfth-century renaissance" at least as much as its more heralded predecessor, the *Alexandreis*.[8] The many original elements of the *Philippide* challenge widespread notions that the spirit of literary innovation of the twelfth-century did not extend into the thirteenth.[9] I argue that, contrary to the prevailing view, the *Philippide* is not a mere versification of Rigord's *Chronicle* and William's own continuation thereof, nor is it a crude attempt at imitation of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*.[10] Rather, it is a sophisticated and carefully

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Breton, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1885). This is still the most recent critical edition of the works of William the Breton, and the one utilized for this translation. On the other editions of the text, see below p. 63.

[7] This is the description of the most recent translator of the *Alexandreis*, David Townsend. Walter of Châtillon, *The Alexandreis: A Twelfth-Century Epic, A Verse Translation by David Townsend* (Toronto, 2007) 15. An earlier translator, R. Telfryn Pritchard, merely included William in a list of poets who imitated Walter. Walter of Châtillon, *The Alexandreis*, trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard (Toronto, 1986) 7.

[8] The idea of a "twelfth-century renaissance" dates back to the seminal work of Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927). At that time, Haskins said that "the stream of classical epic" was "run[ning] thin" with the *Alexandreis*, and it is probably only due to the significant amount of attention that many important scholars have dedicated to the work (see the previous note and n. 64, below) that has (rightfully) saved Walter's epic from the same fate as the *Philippide*. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[9] While the appropriateness of the term "renaissance" has become extremely controversial since Haskins' work, the identification is still frequently deployed in numerous studies, as illustrated by one of the concept's most vocal critics, C. Stephen Jaeger, in his "Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century 'Renaissance,'" *Speculum* 78, No.4 (Oct., 2003) 1151, n. 1. Interestingly, Jaeger bases his argument on a demonstration that much of what has been hailed as the "renewal" of the twelfth-century had died out long before the century ended, which, in a sense, serves to reinforce the notion of the "death" of the efflorescence of the arts in that age prior to 1200, by pushing the emphasis, especially as regards the "death" of "secular poetry" to even earlier in the twelfth-century. *Ibid.*, 1172-6. However, although some scholars have started to drop the name "Twelfth-Century Renaissance," the fact that its underlying premises, including marking its end at or just after the beginning of the thirteenth-century, still have wide currency is bespoken by books such as R. I. Moore's recent study, *The First European Revolution, c. 975-1215* (Malden, MA, 2000). I find both terms problematic at best and feel that any attempt at rigid periodization is an exercise in futility.

[10] Georges Duby (*Bouvines*, 13) called the *Philippide*, "simply a rhymed elaboration of his chronicle." John Baldwin (*Government*, 398) declared that William took "Gautier of Châtillon's popular *Alexandreis*

constructed work of literature written by one of the most prolific and talented poets of his generation.

Notwithstanding this generally negative modern evaluation of the literary value of the *Philippide*, the few scholars who have worked with the text, including Guizot, have consistently noted that it has unquestionable historical significance.[11] Nevertheless, it has still been largely overlooked even in this regard. As a work of history, William the Breton's epic account of King Philip's life and deeds, while partially based on Rigord of St. Denis' *Chronicle* and William's own prose continuation thereof, contains episodes and details that do not appear in any other contemporary literary sources.[12] Moreover, in addition to the poem's value as a source for the identification of names, dates, and events, it also serves as a window onto some of the attitudes and ideologies of the author and, to a lesser degree, those of his audience and his contemporaries.[13] In what remains the most complete recent study of Philip Augustus, John W. Baldwin averred that in the

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as a model for both style and structure," and Gabrielle Spiegel (*Romancing the Past*, 295), citing Baldwin, wrote that "Guillaume elaborated his narrative on the model of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*."

[11] Guizot, *La Philippide*, vii: "*La Philippide* est, comme tant d'autres poèmes du VIe au XVe siècle, une chronique en vers; mais cette chronique, sous le point de vue moral et littéraire aussi bien qu'historique, n'en est pas moins d'une grande valeur." For modern scholars and their judgments, see n. 3 above.

[12] Rigord was a monk of St. Denis who composed an original chronicle of the deeds of Philip Augustus. William the Breton first added an original continuation, and then epitomized Rigord's *Chronicle* to append to the beginning of his second redaction of his own *Chronicle* before writing the *Philippide*. Because the Chronicles of Rigord and William the Breton provide much of the source material upon which the *Philippide* is based, the editor of these texts, H. François Delaborde said that "they [Rigord's and William's *Chronicles* and the *Philippide*] should always be consulted in parallel." *Œuvres*, lxxiii. See also the comments of Baldwin (*Government*, 398): "The prose *Gesta* [*Chronicle*] provided the basic core of factual material to be translated into verse, but in the *Philippidos* [*Philippide*] Guillaume added significant amounts of new material and recast the entire work."

[13] Guizot, *La Philippide*, vii-ix: "Si elle ne porte pas l'empreinte du génie de l'auteur, elle atteste les progrès de la civilisation et de l'esprit humain dans son pays et de son temps. ...Si le poète ne peint pas, du moins il décrit; les mœurs des peuples, la situation des lieux, la forme des armes et des machines, les phénomènes de la nature entrent dans sa composition et y font passer quelque chose du mouvement intellectuel qui commençait à se produire en France; ... Ces descriptions contemporaines donnent a l'ouvrage de Guillaume le Breton un grand mérite historique; deux faits importans [sic] s'y révèlent d'ailleurs; la puissance complètement établie du lien feudal, manifestée en plusieurs endroits par l'expression du dévouement qu'il commande, et la naissance d'un sentiment national, dont les indices se font clairement reconnaitre dans l'effet que produisit en France la victoire de Bovines."

Philippide, William the Breton "came closer to articulating a royal ideology than anyone else at Philip's court."[14] In this vein, the limited scholarly attention that William's *Philippide* has hitherto received has focused largely on the ways in which it reflects contemporary royal ideology.[15]

Finally, even in terms of royal ideology, scholars have still undervalued the importance of the poem. First, scholars have not fully recognized the import of the fact that, with the incorporation of the *Philippide* into the *Chroniques des rois de France* and the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, it is William the Breton's poetic version of the life and deeds of Philip Augustus that became, in essence, the "official" account of Philip's reign in the late Middle Ages and beyond. Next, scholars have overlooked the importance of William's particular elaboration of the legend of the Trojan origins of the Franks and his expression of French exceptionalism in his original version of the baptism of Clovis. Finally, the overarching theme of the *Philippide* is not just the Battle of Bouvines, as Baldwin argued, but rather that the Battle of Bouvines represented the moment when, for William the Breton, Philip Augustus brought his lifelong commitment to the defense of ecclesiastical liberties to a successful conclusion.[16]

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[14] Baldwin, *Government*, 398.
[15] This has been the case in each work cited above in n. 1.
[16] This is the argument of Baldwin's paper, "Le sens de Bouvines." See above, n. 1.

The Life and Works of William the Breton

In William's own words from the prologue to his *Epitome* of the *Chronicle* of Rigord, it is necessary that "first we must inquire about who a man is and where he comes from before inquiring about what he has done."[17] Therefore, we start by looking at what is known of William the Breton's life and career in order to establish his value as a witness, a spokesman for differing clerical and secular ideologies, and a representative of the state of literature at the turn of the thirteenth century.

Working from William the Breton's admission that he was 55 years old at the time of the poem's composition and evidence that the poem was first penned in the years between 1214 and 1224, we arrive at a date of birth of c. 1159 -1169, making him a close contemporary of King Philip Augustus (b. 1165).[18] As his name implies, and as William himself states on more than one occasion in both the *Philippide* and his introduction to the *Epitome* of Rigord, he hailed from Brittany.[19] William's frequent references and the special attention paid to Mont Saint-Michel, Guernsey, and especially Saint-Pol de Léon, have led scholars to believe that our author was quite possibly born in the last named

[17] William the Breton, *Epitome*, 1. See below, Appendix I, pp. 112-113. "Prius enim de quolibet quis sit quam quid ipse fecerit, inquirendum."

[18] Generally a conscientious scholar, Delaborde not only collated the three surviving manuscripts of the *Philippide*, but also gathered the scant available information on its author. He published his findings regarding William's biography first in his *Étude sur la Chronique en Prose de Guillaume le Breton* (Paris, 1881) and again in the introduction to his *Œuvres* (xxxiv-lxxxii). My inspection of the Paris and London manuscripts revealed a few errors in Delaborde's edition which are detailed below, pp. 61-2. According to Delaborde (*Œuvres*, lxxviii, n.1), William cites his age at *Philippide*, Book III, l. 374, however the oblique poetic reference to his age (*undenis ... lustris*) is rather found at l. 376. On the date of composition, see Delaborde *Œuvres* lxvii-lxxiii and a nearly identical passage in the earlier *Étude,* 23-30. Philip was born 21 August, 1165. William the Breton, *Epitome*, Section 11. See below, Appendix I, pp. 118-119.

[19] The opening invocation of the poem reads "*Guillelmus Brito, Armoricus...*" Delaborde, *Œuvres*, Vol. 2, 1. In the introduction to the *Epitome* of Rigord, he says "ego Guillelmus natione Armoricus." On William's *Epitome* of Rigord, see below, pp. 36-39.

place.[20] At the age of twelve William then moved to the city of Mantes, where he studied for some years.[21]

From Mantes, William continued his schooling at the University of Paris, where he became acquainted with the contemporary poet Giles of Paris and eventually achieved the rank of "Master."[22] William was evidently well regarded for his learning, as Giles put forth his name as one of the fifteen sages of contemporary Paris.[23] William had already entered the service of King Philip by the early 1190s at the latest.[24] In Book V of the *Karolinus*, whose composition Colker has dated to 1195-6, Giles delivers a lengthy remonstration of William for his role in the messy negotiations surrounding Philip II's attempt to divorce Ingeborg of Denmark (m. 15 August, 1193).[25]

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[20] Delaborde, *Œuvres,* lxxviii. Most telling are the long interpolated sections about Breton politics which William includes as "Incedentals" (Section 13) in his *Epitome* of Rigord.

[21] Delaborde, following Pannenborg, cited the same lines as those in which William revealed his age. See n. 14 above. Pannenborg, *der Philippis*, 9-13. The lines are Book III, ll. 370-9. Guizot (*La Philippide*, "Notice," x) erroneously wrote Nantes, he has been followed in this error by Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines,* 8.

[22] On Giles of Paris and the *Carolinus*, see the edition by M. L. Colker, "The 'Karolinus' of Egidius Parisiensis," *Traditio* 29 (1973) 199–236 and Andrew W. Lewis, "Dynastic Structures and Capetian Throne-Right: The Views of Giles of Paris" *Traditio* 33 (1977) 225-52. William and Giles had certainly become friends well before the publishing of Giles' *Carolinus*, the composition of which M. L. Colker placed in 1195-6. Colker, "Karolinus," p. 203. I have not been able to uncover any reference to what in specific William became a Master of, but we may presume theology, based on Paris' particular reputation for theological studies, William's subsequent career as Philip's chaplain and ambassador to Rome and the comments of Giles of Paris, who lists him, along with other prominent theologians, as one of the "fifteen sages" of contemporary Paris. John W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages*, 1000-1300 (Long Grove, IL, 1971) 42-46. See also the following note.

[23] John W. Baldwin, "Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982) 144, n. 27.

[24] Georges Duby (*The Legend of Bouvines*, 8) suggested that it was "between the ages of thirty and forty" that William "succeeded in gaining access to the royal chapel." However, he cites no source for this conjecture. If Duby's hypothesis is correct, then based on our estimated dates of birth, this would place William's entry into Philip's inner circle no earlier than 1189.

[25] Giles addresses William specifically in a lengthy diatribe at *Karolinus*, Book V, ll. 173-303. Colker, "Karolinus," 309-312. Philip married Ingeborg on 15 August, 1193, repudiated her the very next day, and divorce proceedings commenced almost immediately. On Philip's marriage to Ingeborg see especially Robert Davidsohn, *Philipp II. August von Frankreich und Ingeborg* (Stuttgart, 1888) *passim.*

However, by 1198 William was back in Brittany. According to one of his many additions to the original text of Rigord, in this year William witnessed the interrogation of a knight before the bishop of Saint-Pol de Léon regarding an unusual supernatural event that had occurred there.[26] William's presence at this event is perhaps best explained if he was already at that time a canon in Saint-Pol, a position he certainly held by 1219.[27] A recent study by Andres-Yves Bourges suggests that William can be identified with the previously unidentified "*Guillelmus presbiter*," author of a biography of a local saint.[28] Bourges has dated this work to the 1190s and it only survives in one manuscript in Brittany, which may suggest it was written locally.[29]

Not long after witnessing this interrogation of the knight, and certainly by 1200, William returned to Paris and then travelled to Rome in the service of the king. He was evidently instrumental in the ongoing negotiations with the new Pope Innocent III, again regarding Philip Augustus' troubled marriage to Ingeborg, as confirmed by the papal registers.[30] William tells us that he was present in person at the siege of Chateau Gaillard and the battle of Bouvines in 1214, undoubtedly in the capacity of the king's chaplain for the latter.[31] Later Philip assigned William to serve as tutor to the king's illegitimate son Pierre Charlot (born c. 1205/9) who, along with Louis VIII, was one of the two

[26] William the Breton, *Epitome*, 97. See also J. C. Cassard "Un possédé du demon et deux specters en Léon en 1198," *Memoires de la societe d'histoire et d'archeologie de Bretagne* 59 (1982) 317-28.
[27] Delaborde (*Œuvres*, p. lxxix) cites as an act published in the *Gallia Christiana*, v. X, *Instrumenta*, 449.
[28] André-Yves Bourgès, "Guillaume le Breton et l'hagiographie bretonne aux XIIè – XIIIè siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*, 101 (1995) 35-45.
[29] *Ibid.*, 38.
[30] In the papal registers: Augustus Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* v. I (Berlin, 1874) no. 4529. For the reference in the *Karolinus* of Giles of Paris, see above, nn. 22 and 25.
[31] On William's presence *in persona*, see Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines*, 6-10.

dedicatees of the *Philippide*.[32] These duties important demonstrate that, by the time of the composition of the poem, William had become one of Philip's most trusted men.

After Bouvines, the only secure knowledge we have of William's activities rests on whatever we might surmise from the 1219 charter of Saint-Pol de Léon, from the third redaction of his chronicle covering events up to 1220, and from our knowledge that the *Philippide* was presented to Louis VIII in its final form sometime after the death of Philip but before the death of Louis, between late 1223 and 1226.[33] As he thenceforth disappears completely from the historical record, both in Paris and in Brittany, we may imagine that William either retired or died shortly thereafter.[34]

The Literary Works of William the Breton

Four literary works can be securely attributed to William the Breton. The first of these is an original chronicle of the events of Philip's reign from 1209 to the battle of Bouvines in 1214, which the editor of his complete works, H. François Delaborde,

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[32] On Pierre Charlot, see Davidsohn, *Philip und Ingeborg*, 211-2. On William as his tutor, see below p. 70, n. 15.

[33] On the charter from Léon, see above, n. 27. On the various redactions of the *Chronicle*, see Delaborde, *Etude*, 14-30 and *idem.*, *Œuvres*, xxxv-xli.

[34] In his introduction, Delaborde hypothesized that the fourth and final redaction of William's *Chronicle*, which still included the *Epitome* of Rigord, was completed by someone else using notes left by William sometime after his death. He suggested this because the manuscript Ottoboni, which includes these additions which do not appear in any other, also suppresses section 210, which refers to the fact that Ferrand of Portugal and Renaud of Boulogne were still in prison. Since they were let out of prison in 1227, the final redaction must have been completed by that time. Finally, the new conclusion bespeaks a renewed interest in the monastery of St. Denis, which Delaborde suggests is "proof" that the work was finished by a monk of that abbey and not William the Breton. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, xlvii. However, Delaborde's conclusion seems to rest on an *a priori* assumption, for which there is no evidence, that William did not outlive Louis VIII. It is not impossible that William may have retired as a monk of St. Denis, which could explain the renewed interest in St. Denis in the fourth redaction of the *Chronicle* and it could also help explain the unexpected return to prominence of the saint at the end of the *Philippide*. However, this is mere conjecture and to my knowledge, William the Breton does not appear in the necrology of St. Denis, although I have not yet had the opportunity to personally investigate this matter. On the role of the figure of St. Denis in the *Philippide*, see below, pp. 54-5, n. 216.

dubbed the "*libellus Guillelmi*" and is referred to herein as William's "*Chronicle*."[35] This was followed by a second redaction of the *Chronicle* that includes an *Epitome* of the earlier *Chronicle* of Rigord, monk of St. Denis.[36] In the introduction to the *Epitome*, William states that he undertook the task of epitomizing the text specifically because Rigord's *Chronicle* was not well known.[37] William eventually composed a third redaction of his chronicle, perhaps completed by an anonymous monk of St. Denis after the author's death.[38] Although generally presented as one composite text, we should treat William's *Epitome* of Rigord and the original *Chronicle* as two separate works.

The *Philippide* seems to be the third of William's works in order of composition. Despite his own claim in the prologue to the second redaction of his *Chronicle*, which included the new *Epitome* of Rigord, that he would leave the versification of Philip's great deeds to others, sometime after 1214 the historian turned poet and began work on his epic.[39] The fourth work which we can securely attribute to our author is another epic entitled *Karolide*, now lost, to which William refers in the epilogue of the *Philippide*.[40] William tells us that he composed it at the same time as he was working on the *Philippide*, but presumably he finished the *Karolide* first as he refers to its composition in

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[35] Delaborde, *Etude*, 21.

[36] Both of these were edited and published by Delaborde in the first volume of the aforementioned *Œuvres*. For the date and order of the various redactions of William the Breton's chronicle, see the introduction by Delaborde in his *Œuvres*, xlii–li and his *Etude*, 14-30 as well as Spiegel's *Chronicle Tradition*, 63-8.

[37] William the Breton, *Epitome*, 1: "Et quoniam libellus ille magistri Riguoti [sic] a paucis habetur, et adhuc multitudini non communicatur..." My English translation of the relevant sections of William's *Epitome* is included below as Appendix I, pp. 111-126.

[38] On the number and dates of the redactions of William's *Chronicle* and *Epitome*, see Delaborde, *Etude*, 21-22.

[39] William the Breton, *Chronicle*, 1. On the dating of the composition of the *Philippide*, see the Delaborde's introduction to his *Œuvres*, lxvii-lxxiii and Baldwin, *Government*, 397-8.

[40] *Philippide*, Book XII, ll. 926-30: "Insuper et spatium spatio Karlotis eodem / Est furata mihi quo fabricata fuit, / In qua, procedens humili per levia passu, Pretentavit equos nostra camena suos." Because no other information about this work survives, we may only guess at the subject matter of William's *Karolide*.

the past tense.[41] If we also include the anonymous Breton *Vitae Goeznouei et Hoaruei* by *Guillelmus presbyter* among his works, it means that, despite the obligations imposed by the numerous tasks he carried out on behalf of his royal benefactor Philip Augustus, William the Breton ranks as one of the more prolific non-theological writers of his generation.[42]

The dating of the composition of the *Philippide* has continuously presented problems for those scholars who have examined it.[43] The difficult arises from William's claim that he took three years to write and two years to correct it.[44] However, since it is widely believed that William began the work shortly after Bouvines, which took place in 1214, but Book XII includes the death of Philip in 1223, this creates a time frame of nearly a decade. This discrepancy is easily reconcilable if we take William at his word and place his fourth work, the lost *Karolide*, which he says also took him five years to write, in between the two periods of composition laid out by the author. Thus, William began the *Philippide* sometime in 1214/5 and worked on it for three years until c. 1218, perhaps ending with an earlier, and more complete version of Book XI or, more likely, a different, shorter version of Book XII.[45] He then began his *Karolide*, which occupied him for the next five years until 1223. Shortly after the death of Philip in July of that same year, William returned to his first epic, added or reworked Book XII, including the death, funeral and "sanctification" of Philip, and the coronation of Louis. He spent two

[41] *Ibid.*, "fabricata fuit." See n. 40 above.
[42] See above, n. 28.
[43] See above, n. 39.
[44] *Philippide*, Book XII, ll.927: "Annis scripta fui tribus, emendate duobus."
[45] As it stands now, Book XI ends somewhat abruptly after the capture of Count Renaud by Bishop-elect Guerin. The fact that early in Book XII there is a reference to the abbey of Ste. Victoire, which charters show to have been begun only in 1221/2, has led some to believe that William began Book XII around that time. However, it is just as possible that these lines were added during the final revision, which is to say after the death of Philip in July of 1223.

years adding these materials and correcting the whole poem, during which time he may have also reworked the division of some of the earlier books, and he presented the final copy of the *Philippide* to Louis at some point in 1225 or early 1226.[46]

William's service to the crown determined his career at least as much as his ecclesiastical education and offices, especially after 1200. Scholars have often interpreted the *Philippide*'s unbridled praise of Philip Augustus as a sort of repayment for political favors.[47] However, due to Philip Augustus' frequently sincere commitment to free elections to church offices within his kingdom, William could not count on a promotion to high office in exchange for his literary services.[48] This evidently did not dampen William's enthusiasm for his king. Rather, Philip's defense of the "*libertas*" of the church and clergy is a constant theme for praise of the king in both the *Chronicle* and the *Philippide*.[49] Finally, it is important to note that William the Breton never rose above the rank of canon and that he published the poem in its final form only *after* the death of the king.

Contemporaries and modern historians alike have criticized William the Breton for ignoring the king's most notable break with the church—Philip's troubled marriage to

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[46] A piece of evidence that leads us to believe he may have re-divided some of the earlier books is the fact that the final three lines of the "Catalogue of Materials" for Book VI introduces the siege of Chateau Gaillard, which instead appears in the first 252 lines of Book VII. Likewise, the first three lines of the "Catalogue of Materials" for Book VII also introduce (rightfully) the siege. See the note in Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 150, n. 2.

[47] Baldwin (*Government*, 399) called it "an unrestrained panegyric," where also he suggested that William meant to finish it before Philip's death. He has been followed in this later idea by Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, xviii.

[48] On Philip's policy toward ecclesiastic elections, see Baldwin's chapter on "Ecclesiastical Liberties" in his *Government*, 176-188.

[49] See *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," l. 25; Book I, l. 285; and especially Book VIII, ll. 241-256 where the comparison with English practice is explicit. It is also noteworthy that the "Thomas Becket affair" is central to both the second and third citation. For more on the role and importance of Thomas Becket in the *Philippide*, see below, pp. 47-60.

Ingeborg. The author's silence on the matter demonstrates that William's view point was not slavishly ecclesiastical either.[50] This is in sharp contrast to many contemporary monastic chroniclers, and most notably his direct predecessor Rigord, whose stance toward Philip changed drastically in light of the king's ongoing conflict with the pope regarding his marriage to Ingeborg of Denmark.[51]

William's deliberate silence on this matter has called into question his historical objectivity toward Philip. [52] However, our author's discretion also shows a degree of freedom of thought present in William's judgments which is absent from many contemporary ecclesiastical chroniclers, especially considering that William knew better than anyone that no amount of unswerving loyalty to Philip would guarantee appointment to high church office.[53] Therefore, since William lauded Philip's general commitment to a policy of non-interference in church elections as one of the king's greatest merits and he presumably stood to gain little in a material sense from his poem, his adulation of Philip is better read as sincere admiration rather than mere opportunistic pandering.

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[50] Giles of Paris' expressed his disapproval of William's role in the negotiations with Innocent III over Philip's divorce in his *Carolinus* (Book V, ll. 173-303) and presumably would have equally disapproved of the omission of the entire saga from William's works. Gabrielle Spiegel has reasonably suggested that William's "part in the affair ... probably explains his absolute silence on the subject." Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, 64.

[51] On Rigord's changed attitude toward Philip after his return from crusade and his repudiation of Ingeborg, see Baldwin, *Government*, 396 and Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, 56-63.

[52] Even Jim Bradbury, generally favorably disposed toward using William the Breton as a source, advises caution in light of his close relationship with the king. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, xviii.

[53] On Philip's adherence to the general Capetian policy of ecclesiastical liberty and freedom of elections, see Baldwin, *Government*, Chapter 8, "The Blessings of Ecclesiastical Liberties," 176-88.

About the *Philippide*

William the Breton's Literary Models

The *Philippide* has generally been seen as a *Res Gestae*, a narration of one's deeds, set to epic verse.[54] As a work of biography, the prose models most readily available were Abbot Suger's *Deeds of Louis the Fat* and Rigord of St. Denis' *Chronicle*.[55] Although William was not a monk of St. Denis, since he began his literary career by continuing Rigord's *Chronicle* which he specifically says he got from the archives of that monastery, he almost certainly was familiar with the work of Suger as well.[56] However, whereas the considerable influence of Rigord is discussed below, there is little evidence of the direct influence of Suger in William's *Philippide*.[57]

The other type of biography with which William undoubtedly was acquainted is the genre of hagiography, which had undergone something of a revival in France in the twelfth-century.[58] Leaving aside his hypothetical authorship of some Breton saints' lives, William's theological education in Paris, his role as chaplain to King Philip, his particular interest in the life and afterlife of Thomas Becket, his interest in miracles and his attempt

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[54] On the commonplace that William merely versified Rigord's and his own *Chronicle*, see above, n. 10.
[55] Abbot Suger's *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis* has been published as *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. Richard C. Cusimano and John Moorhead (Washington, DC, 1992).
[56] *Epitome*, 1. See Appendix I, below, pp. 112-113.
[57] On the influence of Rigord's *Chronicle* on the works of William the Breton, see below, pp. 36-39. Perhaps the only significant echo of Suger in Book I of the *Philippide* is when William the Breton suggests that the boar which causes Philip Augustus to get lost prior to the attempted coronation maybe something other than a boar (Book I, ll. 229-239), he may be echoing the story of the death of Louis the Fat's son Philip because of a "diabolical pig." Suger, *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, 149-150.
[58] On the revival of hagiography in the twelfth century in France, see Guy Philippart, *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental: Les Légendiers Latins et Autres Manuscrits Hagiographiques* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1977) 49: "Les pays 'francs' d'abord et leurs marches, terre par excellence des légendiers traditionnels... on produit aux XII et XIII siècles, mis a part quelques cas exceptionnels, les plus vastes sommes hagiographiques de la chrétienté latine."

to promote the canonization of Philip all demonstrate that hagiography influenced, at least indirectly, the author of the *Philippide*.[59]

However, the *Philippide* is, first and foremost, an epic poem.[60] As such, William used the traditional meter of epic poetry, dactylic hexameter, whose legacy dated back nearly two thousand years to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer.[61] William was evidently well aware of this, as he cites both Homer and his works in the opening invocation of the *Philippide* and refers to the epic meter as "Maeonian."[62] Homer's works were generally known to the poets of the medieval West only second hand, because in the thirteenth century very few in the West, even among the educated, still knew how to read Greek. Therefore it is highly unlikely, though not impossible, that William the Breton had ever even seen Homer's original Greek, let alone been able to read it.[63] Nevertheless, William's choice of meter was unquestionably dictated by Virgil's Latin adaptation of the Homeric verse in the *Aeneid*, with which William was

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[59] On William's possible authorship of the *Vie de St. Goeznouei*, see the article by Andres-Yves Bourges cited above, n. 28. On the importance of Thomas Becket to the *Philippide*, see below, pp. 47-60. For William's assertion of Philip's sanctity at the end of the *Philippide*, see below, p. 54 and the article by Jacques Le Goff, "Un échec: le dossier de sainteté de Philippe-Auguste," *L'Histoire*, 100 (May, 1987) 22-29.

[60] Octave Delepierre, like Guizot before him (see n. 3 above) emphatically insisted that the *Philippide* was not an epic poem, because it lacked any unity of action. Delepierre, *Philippide: Extraits*, xv. However, as will be demonstrated below, they are mistaken on this point, as William does indeed at several points in the first book alone, change the sequence of events in order to create an overarching unity of narrative.

[61] For the history and iterations of dactylic hexameter in Latin poetry, see especially, L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963) 118-132; 193-201.

[62] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," l. 17: "Quae potius pede Meonio referenda fuerunt." This is a reworking of Ovid *Remedia Amoris*, l. 373, "Fortia Maeonio gaudent pede bella referri." In the Middle Ages, Homer was often called "the Maeonian poet," as he was called in widely read late ancient work of Martianus Capella, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*. See William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, eds. *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts,* 2 Volumes (New York, 1971), v. II, 5. See also Christopher Page, ed. and trans., *The Summa Musice: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers* (Cambridge, 1991) 119, n. 120 where the anonymous author of this book on music, which the editor has dated to circa 1200, has misattributed Ovid's line to Horace's *Ars Poetica*.

[63] William's ignorance of Greek perhaps finds puerile expression in his explicit disdain for the "race of Greeks" at Book I, ll. 55-97. However, it could equally and perhaps more probably represent the growing antipathy in the West for all things Greek at the turn of the thirteenth-century, especially following the dramatic outcome of the Fourth Crusade. On the antipathy among Latins and Greeks in this period, see especially Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd Edition (Philadelphia, 1997) 135-6; 140-1.

intimately familiar, as will be made clear below, and the epic versification of the deeds of Alexander the Great, the *Alexandreis*, by William's older contemporary, Walter of Châtillon.

Poetic Models for the *Philippide*:

The Relationship with the *Alexandreis*, the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*

There is no one single model for the *Philippide*. However, the overall structure of the work strongly suggests that Virgil's *Aeneid* had the greatest influence on William the Breton. William also looked to a similar classicizing epic, Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*.[64] Finally, the works of Ovid, especially his *Metamorphoses*, also significantly influenced William, most notably in his choice of vocabulary.

The few scholars who have studied or consulted the *Philippide* have universally recognized its indebtedness to Walter of Châtillon, whom William first cites in his prologue.[65] The *Alexandreis* was one of the most widely distributed works of the literature of the twelfth-century in France and beyond, surviving in over two hundred manuscripts, most of which date from the twelfth century, and William the Breton was undoubtedly influenced by it.[66] In fact, this point has been made so often as to have become canonical, so that many scholars who have obviously never even given the *Philippide* the most cursory of examinations, often report this as its sole aspect worthy of

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[64] The *Alexandreis* has enjoyed consistent popularity over the last half century, leading to a critical edition by M. L. Colker and three separate translations. Colker's edition is *Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis* (Padua, 1978). The two most recent translations are cited above, n. 7. The third is William Thomas Jolly's doctoral thesis published as *The Alexandreid of Walter of Châtillon: A Translation and Commentary* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1968).

[65] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 9-13. Walter of Châtillon is also cited at *Philippide*, Book VII, l. 840 and Book XII, l. 886.

[66] On the *Alexandreis* and its popularity, see especially the introduction by Colker, in *Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis*, xix-xx, where Colker notes that already by "1189 the epitaph for King Henry II of England carried an imitation" of three of Walter's verses and that in the early thirteenth century Henry of Ghent lamented that the classics were being neglected in favor of the *Alexandreis*. The manuscripts are listed at *ibid.*, xxxiii-xxxviii.

note.[67] Although William mentions Walter, his references to the author of the *Alexandreis* are very different in tone than those made of the Roman poets, especially Ovid and Virgil.[68] Indeed, in terms of overall theme and structure William owes much more to Virgil than to Walter and in terms of vocabulary, Ovid had the greatest influence.

The overall extent of the influence of the *Alexandreis* has been significantly overstated.[69] In fact, William the Breton intended to outdo Walter of Châtillon rather than merely imitate his work. He sought to do so in the length of his poem, in the worth of his subject matter, and in terms of the depth and curiosity of his learned classical allusions and the complicated metaphors which he used to bind them.[70] I will demonstrate this in three ways: first, through an assessment of the overall structure of the poem, next by establishing William's independent knowledge of the ancients, and finally, through an examination of the nuances of our poet's relationship with Walter of Châtillon, as established in the *Philippide*.

The Structure of the *Philippide*:

William, Walter, Virgil and Ovid and the Number of Books

Structured as twelve books of an average length of seven-hundred sixty-two lines of classicizing verse, the very form of the *Philippide* obviously imitates that of the *Aeneid*, much more than the considerably shorter, ten book *Alexandreis* or the longer, fifteen book *Metamorphoses*.[71] However, scholars have always accepted at face value

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[67] See above, n. 7.
[68] For the references to Walter, see above, n. 65.
[69] See above, n. 10.
[70] On the importance lent to learned allusions in twelfth and early thirteenth century poetry, see Haskins, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 48 *ff.*
[71] The critical edition of the *Philippide* by Delaborde contains a total of 9144 lines in the 12 books, in addition to a prologue of 62 lines and an epilogue (which only survives in the Vatican manuscript, but

William's statements at the end of Books VII and IX that he intended to write ten books, like Walter, but ran out of space for all of Philip's great deeds.[72] In fact, if we read carefully the lines that first introduce the idea of a ten book format, it seems obvious that William included these lines, whether during the initial composition or in a subsequent revision, precisely to point out that he had, indeed, outdone his predecessor Walter of Châtillon:

> And now it was time, William, for you to tie up your exhausted mule, unresponsive to the lash of the rod, and to prepare yourself for long labor with a brief rest. For in fact, it still remains for you to add three books, so that the succession of ten may complete the volume.[73] Since you know yourself to be inferior to Walter in terms of voice (poetry), at least the number of books might be equal to him. Unless, perchance, some new event arises by some unexpected happening, by which a longer series of books will be needed.[74]

That these lines are not to be taken at face value is made evident by several contextual considerations. First, it is difficult to believe that the author had not prepared at least a

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seemingly original) of 20 lines and catalogues of materials that open each book, which are 10, 9, 11, 10, 13, 8, 11, 10, 12, 9, 9, and 10 lines respectively or a total of an additional 124 lines across the twelve books. This gives a grand total of 9350 lines, and an average of 762 lines per book, not including the prologue, epilogue or catalogues of materials. The *Aeneid*, in the version published by J. B. Greenough, ed. *Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Virgil* (Boston, 1900) contains 9870 lines or an average of just about 823 lines per book. By comparison, the much shorter *Alexandreis*, in the critical edition published by M. L. Colker, contains ten books of a total of 5412 lines as well as a prologue of 42 lines and catalogues of materials at the beginning of each chapter totaling 101 lines for a grand total of 5555 lines, or an average of 541 lines per book (calculated, as for the *Philippide*, not including the prologue or the catalogues of materials). While this stichometry may not be particularly significant in and of itself, it is important to note that many of the poets of the age seemed to think it was important, including William's contemporary Giles of Paris who tells us his work, *Karolinus* (see n. 22 above) was 2,232 lines and Peter Riga (also mentioned by William, *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 14-18) whose *Aurora* counted 15,056 lines and finally William himself gives us a total of 9,150 (*Philippide*, Book XII, l. 920) which he connects directly to his curious statement that it is shorter than Ovid's 12,000 lines (by William's count) of the *Metamorphoses*. It is also interesting that these line numbers provided by the poets never seem to correlate to the poems as they have come down to us. Colker has studied this strange phenomenon in "Stichometry That Does Not Tally," *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 85-89. N.B. all subsequent citations of Virgil's poetry derive from this Greenough edition, and all subsequent citations of the *Alexandreis* derive from the Colker edition, unless otherwise stated.

[72] Pannenborg, *Der Philipis*, 9. Following him: Delaborde, *Œuvres* v. I, lxxi, Baldwin, *Government*, 398, and Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, xviii.

[73] The editor Delaborde included the following note after line 841: "Rigord pensait donc a ce moment compléter son ouvrage en dix livres." Not only has he misidentified the author William the Breton as Rigord (whose works Delaborde published in the same two volume set), but he seems to find nothing unusual about these curious lines. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 209, n. 5.

[74] *Philippide*, Book VII, ll. 835-43.

preliminary sketch of the contents of the books of his proposed work that consumed, by his own admission, five years of his life, two of which he used for revising.[75] Furthermore, it seems unusual that in those two years he dedicated to revising the poem he never thought to eliminate the lines that referred to the proposed length of ten books, unless the lines actually served this other purpose of making explicit his eclipse of Walter's work.[76]

Finally, William the Breton, like many contemporary twelfth-century authors, included an acrostic where the first letter of each book spells out a dedicatory phrase. William's acrostic, noted by all who have worked with the text, spelled out either *Philipus Rex Francorum* or *Philipus R[ex] E[st] Christ[ianissimus] Francorum.*[77] The acrostic in either form would have required all twelve books and it is doubtful that William would have planned such an austere epithet of *Philipus R[ex] E[st]* for his beloved king, as would have been required by a ten book epic.[78]

A ten book epic was never William's true intention, as his references to the length of his work demonstrate. First, "Walter" is, of course, Walter of Châtillon and the work obliquely referred to is his ten book *Alexandreis.*[79] However, when this statement is compared to William's other direct references to Walter, it becomes clear that this

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[75] Including two years dedicated to revision, *Philippide*, Book XII, ll.927: "Annis scripta fui tribus, emendate duobus." For similar arguments about the composition and revision of the *Alexandreis*, see the introduction by Jolly, *Alexandreid*, 16-19.
[76] See the previous note.
[77] For Delaborde, the "E" at the beginning of Book X should be taken as the second letter of "rex," whereas, since the word "*rex*" itself is already the first word of book 9, Pannenborg argued that the E rather stands for the word "*est*," and therefore we can take the X that begins the word *Xristophori* (put in Greek) in Book XI for "*Christ[ianissimus]*," and both would have us take the entire word *Francorum* from book 12. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, "Notice," lxxv, n. 2.
[78] I am inclined to agree with Pannenborg, if for no other reason than William, unlike Rigord, rarely referred to Philip as simply "*Rex Francorum.*" John W. Baldwin also agrees with Pannenborg, without citing either scholar or any motive for his choice at *Government*, 572-3, n. 35.
[79] See above, nn. 7 and 64.

statement can only be facetious. In the first of his two lengthy dedications that open the poem, while attempting to excuse himself for taking on such a daunting task, William the Breton refers to Walter and his epic in this manner:

> I do not, nevertheless, seek to change my mind, but rather I presume to excuse my bold undertaking with such a pretext: If it was permitted for you, Walter, to describe in epic verse the deeds of the general of Macedon, which only the bellow of second-hand tales and wide-ranging reports taught you; If it was allowed for each national poet to boast his own people's lies with a grand sounding shout...[80]

Delaborde noted that the last two lines of this selection are a subtle reworking of the first two lines of the *Carmen Paschalis*, by the fifth century Christian author Sedulius.[81] In them, William has redirected Sedulius' pointed criticism of pagan authors toward Walter, or at the very least, toward Walter's choice of subject matter which William suggests is inferior to his own:

> Then why would I not dare to write great things—things which I know and which I have seen with my own eyes—about about a great king, who is not less than Alexander in virtue, nor less than he who subdued the whole earth to the city of Romulus.[82]

When William comes to the end of the ninth book, he makes explicit why he must go beyond ten books:

> Now, if only now you would wish, Phoebus, to inspire all the muses of Helicon for me, breathing with holy breath whatever sacred thing is breathed from Cirrhean caves, whatever drink is draught from Castalian waters! O may the spirit of Lucan now run in me, or that of Virgil, or at least the echo of the Theban poet [Statius]! Not that I mock the empty ghost of Pythagoras, who, as he constantly babbled, that he was Panthodian Euphorbus in the time of the Trojan war, since he believed that the spirit was able to be transferred from one body into many. Instead, God, creator of heaven and earth, with a single word creates when he pours in the spirit, and pours in the spirit when he creates. But [I wish] only that I might deserve to absorb the mere traces of them, having been made similar to them through the song of one, so that the outstanding reputation of Philip not slacken because of the brevity of my spirit, the effect of a lesser

[80] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 7-13.
[81] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 2. The lines reworked by William the Breton are, as cited by Delaborde: "Cum sua gentiles studeant figmenta poetae / Grandisonis pompare modis tragicoque boatu. Sedulius, *Carm. Paschal*, v. 1-2." On Sedulius, his criticisms of pagan authors and his popularity in the Middle Ages, see Carl P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: The Paschale Carmen of Sedulius* (Leiden, 1988) 23-48, and 128-150, respectively.
[82] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 19-22.

> herald. Behold! The distinction of a tenth book takes hold of my hand, which dares to reach for twin triumphs simultaneously. And although it wavers at first, since it is not enough to hold all of this in itself—look! With difficulty, it sustains a second, and the pages of an eleventh book overwhelm it. Nevertheless, it hastily desires to toil at Bouvines, where the king concluded the greatest of wars and in one battle finally triumphed over all his enemies! Now, by as much as I feel to be weightily dragged, so much less willingly I endure, fearing to collapse under the weight, unless, Phoebus, your grace reinforces my senses. I know; I know that you alone can penetrate the threshold of the heavenly father. You alone, coming down from the celestial citadel, freely inspire whatever is held in the hearts of poets, making it knowable throughout the whole world.[83]

This segment is replete with Virgilian vocabulary and Ovidian imagery and contains a direct reference to the Roman poet of the *Aeneid* (l. 731), as well as an implied criticism of Walter's *Alexandreis*.[84] William fears that Philip's well deserved fame might fade if it were made "by a lesser herald."[85] He then follows this by several lines in the course of which the poem, by necessity of its grand subject, grows to twelve books before our eyes.[86] This passage is a criticism of the length of Walter's ten book epic. This becomes clear considering the specific parallels that William draws between the subjects of the respective poems, as mentioned above and described more fully below.[87]

Finally, before moving to look at the textual relationship between the *Philippide*, the *Alexandreis* and their ancient antecedents, the importance of Ovid for the overall

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[83] *Philippide*, Book IX, ll. 727-757.

[84] Of Virgilian vocabulary, since many of these words are common to much of Latin literature, I have restricted these citations to those words that appear only rarely or those particularly favored by Virgil, that is to say, those appearing more than thirty times in his surviving corpus. They are: *antris* (l. 729); *vatis* (ll. 732 and 757 as "*vatum*"); *imago* (l. 732); *vestigia* (l. 737); and *merear* (l. 739). Of Ovidian imagery, l. 736: "corpora posse animam transfundi in corpora multa," echoes the opening lines of the *Metamorphoses*, Book I, ll. 1-2: "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / corpora" and as a whole, ll. 733-736: "Non ut Pythagore vano phantasmate ludar, / Qui, sicut farrit, Trojani tempore belli / Panthoides Euphorbus erat, dum credit ab uno / corpora posse animam transfundi in corpora multa," directly echo the speech of Pythagoras at *Metamorphoses*, Book XV, ll. 153-175, especially ll. 160-162: "ipse ego (nam memini) Troiani tempore belli / Panthoides Euphorbus eram, cui pectore quondam / haesit in adverso gravis hasta minoris Atridae."

[85] *Philippide*, Book XII, l. 742: *preconii effecta minoris*. If we are meant to understand *preconii* as "herald" and hence "poet" and *minoris* as "lesser" than the criticism is quite explicit. Alternatively, *preconii* can be understood to mean "publication" and *minoris* as "shorter," which would represent an equally pointed criticism of Walter's work.

[86] *Philippide*, Book XII ll. 743-757.

[87] Above, p. 21 and below, pp. 25-27.

structure of the *Philippide* should be noted. In a study of "Ovid in the Middle Ages," Jeremy Dimmick has noted how John Gower in his fourteenth-century *Confessio* used the *Metamorphoses* as a model in order to structure "an integrated, articulate whole out of fragmented narrative materials."[88] To a degree, William the Breton had already confronted much the same problem as Gower, in a way not encountered by Walter of Châtillon. In the *Philippide*, William attempted to reorganize the episodic entries of Rigord of St. Denis' *Chronicle* into a narrative whole, whereas Walter of Châtillon, working from Curtius' *Life of Alexander*, already had a coherent narrative before him when he began writing his epic.[89] Although William the Breton never equals Ovid's subtle transitions, they undoubtedly influenced our author as he attempted to patch together the disjointed entries of a monastic chronicle into a coherent epic.

The Textual Relationship of the *Philippide* to the *Alexandreis*:

William, Walter, and Citing the Ancients

In the most complete study of the textual borrowings present in the *Philippide*, Albert Pannenborg traced numerous citations from Ovid, Statius and Lucan, as well as those from Virgil and Walter of Châtillon, all of whom are explicitly named in the poem by William the Breton.[90] However, despite the epithet bestowed on William by the seventeenth-century editor Casper Barth of the "Ovidian genius," it is Virgil who is invoked both first and most often and whose influence looms largest on the poem at

[88] Jeremy Dimmick, "Ovid in the Middle Ages: Authority and Poetry," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. Philip Hardie (Cambridge, 2002) 264-287.
[89] On the relationship of the *Philippide* to Rigord's *Chronicle*, see below pp. 36-39. On Walter of Châtillon's reliance on Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Life of Alexander*, see Townsend, *Alexandreis*, 17.
[90] Pannenborg, *Der Philipis*, 14-21. Walter and Peter Riga are named in the "Dedication to Louis," ll. 9-18. Virgil, Statius and Lucan are cited in the "Proposition" of Book I, ll. 7-12. Ovid does not appear in name until *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 617-19: "...Sic fibula quondam / Ovidiana refert plus concepisse furoris / Penthea dissuasu procerum..." The passage recalls Ovid, *Metamophoses*, III, v. 513, 582ff. For the importance of these lines to Book I, see below, p. 34.

large.[91] While it is clear that William greatly esteemed Ovid, the divergent reputations of the two poets in the Middle Ages may have done much to shape William's public attitude toward them.[92] Dimmick has pointed out that it was especially in the twelfth-century Parisian schools where, although Ovid was still taught as part of the curriculum, his works were often publically condemned.[93]

The words of Virgil appear on nearly every page of the *Philippide*. Of the *Philippide*'s many Virgilian echoes cited by Pannenborg which have no analogy in the *Alexandreis*, it will suffice to illustrate one from each of Virgil's three main works to demonstrate William the Breton's independent knowledge of the extant catalogue of the poet of Mantua.[94] First, there are these two very close adaptations from the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*:

Philippide, Book XII, ll. 883-4

> O mihi tunc, o si maneat pars ultima vitae
> Spiritus exacte, tua coner ut acta referre,

Eclogue IV, ll. 53-4

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[91] Caspar Barth, as cited in Pannenborg, *Der Philipis*, 16. For Barth's edition of the *Philippide* with a lengthy Latin introduction, see below, p. 63, n. 249. Virgil is mentioned twice by name (at *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 7-9 and *Philippide*, Book IX, l. 731). Instead, while one may find numerous textual allusions to Ovid, as Pannenborg has (*Der Philipis*, 15-16), and whatever William's debt to him in terms of transitions, the poet is never specifically mentioned by name, but rather with the adjective "Ovidiana" in reference to his story of Pentheus from *Metamorphoses*, Book III, cited by William at *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 617-19, and *Metamorphoses* as a whole is cited in the *Philippide*'s "Epilogue," (*Philippide*, Book XII, l. 917). Furthermore, Ovid does not appear until Book I, ll. 617-19 whereas Virgil appears in the opening stanza. However, the Rome manuscript of the poem does close with a direct mention of the *Metamorphoses*, where William the Breton curiously states that his poem is not as long as Ovid's. *Philippide*, Book XII, "Epilogue in Distichs" ll. 1-4. On the number of lines of William's poem and its significance for the author, see above, n. 71.

[92] On the divergent reputations of the two poets in the Middle Ages, see especially the excellent article by Jeremy Dimmick, "Ovid in the Middle Ages" in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, 264-287. Also see Domenico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (New York, 1929); and Haskins, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 107-109.

[93] Dimmick, "Ovid in the Middle Ages," 268. Dimmick does not, however, specifically mention William the Breton or the *Philippide*.

[94] The most complete study of Virgilian quotations and echoes in the *Alexandreis* is Otto Zwierlein, *Der Pragende Einfluss des antiken Epos auf die "Alexandreis" des Walter von Chatillon* (Mainz, 1987).

O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae,
spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta:

Philippide, Book VI, l. 544

Felix qui rerum has potuit cognoscere causas

Georgics, Book II, l. 490

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas

And then there is the following direct quotation from Book V of the *Aeneid*:

Philippide, Book X, l. 591 and *Aeneid*, Book V, l. 305 *verbatim*

Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.

These three citations, none of which appear in the *Alexandreis*, chosen from among many other possibilities, amply show that with or without Walter's text, William the Breton knew his Virgil.[95] This observation is not meant to deny the importance of the influence of Walter of Châtillon and his work on William the Breton. However, it bears repeating that the numerous classical quotations and allusions in the *Philippide* indicate that William the Breton was at least equally well versed in ancient literature as his more famous predecessor.[96]

The Thematic Relationship of the *Philippide* with the *Alexandreis* I: William and Walter, Philip and Alexander

We have seen how William the Breton sought to differentiate his work from that of his predecessor, Walter of Châtillon, in terms of the length of his poem and his employ of their common ancient antecedents. If we now turn to William's last direct reference to

[95] For an extensive list of Virgilian quotations and adaptations see Gidel, *De Philippide*, *passim* and Pannenborg, *Der Philipis*, 14-15.
[96] Among the other authors recognized in the *Philippide* and singled out for mention by Pannenborg (*Der Philipis*, 19-25) are Juvenal, Prudentius, Claudian, and Horace. Also, it is important to recognize that in his brief survey, Pannenborg made no claim to have found all such citations or allusions. A full study of the textual interrelationship between the *Alexandreis* and the *Philippide* is a desideratum.

Walter of Châtillon at the end of Book XII, the complete picture of the nature of the *Philippide*'s relationship with the *Alexandreis* comes into focus:

> Oh, then, if the last part of life may remain for me, worn out in spirit, so that I could try to relate your life and your deeds exactly, deeds worthy that Sophocles or the Iberian poet [Seneca] would be eager for them![97] Oh if Walter or Giles were alive in this time, how your wars would shine with a clear tragic style! Alexander, and those who followed him, Antiochus and the twelve leaders, will completely bemoan themselves as commoners compared to the splendor of your reputation and even biting criticism[98] would succumb to a book composed by you, if he were worthy to have such a poet such as them.[99]

This passage, drawn from the poem's closing exhortation to Louis, begins with the aforementioned near-direct quotation of Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*.[100] William then explicitly compares the proposed subject, namely Louis, of a future poem that he fears he will not be able to write, with Walter's subject, Alexander the Great. William does so using an obvious echo of these lines of the *Alexandreis*:[101]

> For if you should carefully record the admirable deeds of kings and extol them with just praises and honors, if you should reexamine faithfully how much the Macedonian attempted in the tender flower of his youth with so few men against the conquerors of the world, and in how short a time the entire world cast itself at the knees of Alexander, you would find that the whole series of leaders of whom Spanish poetry has sung in grandiloquent style or whom Claudian celebrated with his lofty verses would be common people in comparison with this leader, so that Lucan would be ashamed to have sung the epic of Caesar and the ruin of Rome with such brilliance and famous Honorius would succumb to the arms of the Macedonians.[102]

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[97] It is unclear if the "Spanish poet" here is Lucan or Seneca. William the Breton mentions Lucan often in the *Philippide*, but the pairing with Sophocles and the *cothurno* "tragic style" make us think of Seneca, since he was the author of the Latin tragedies most famous in the Middle Ages. According to Pannenborg, Barth thought it referred to Seneca, but the former tells us to consider Lucan as well because William the Breton is following the *Alexandreis* in this section, in which the identification with Lucan is explicit. Pannenborg, *der Philipis*, 17. I personally lean toward Seneca, for the reasons cited above.

[98] Literally "*girapigra*," as in medicine, here understood in its role as a "corrective" and hence criticism, as determined by Pannenborg who suggested that William may have gotten the word from Gilles of Corbeil's *Antidotarius*. Pannenborg, *Der Philipis*, 24. He was followed in this by Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, p. 383, n. 1. The word seems to have survived in Spanish as "jirapliega," which is defined as "a laxative composed of aloe, honey and other ingredients." Guizot, in his French translation of the passage also says "critique." Guizot, *La Philippide*, 388.

[99] *Philippide*, Book XII, ll. 883-892.

[100] See above, p. 24-5.

[101] The echo is noted by Pannenborg, *Der Philipis*, 18.

[102] Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandries*, Book V, ll. 500-509. The translation is that of Jolly, *Alexandreid*, 154-5. I have chosen Jolly's over that of Townsend, because it, like my own translation of the *Philippide*, is in prose and more faithful to Latin in its literalness.

Building on the parallel begun in the opening of the *Philippide*, William's message is now clear: his subjects, either actual or proposed, are greater than Walter's. As much as Walter's Alexander overshadows every other theme of previous poets, by equal measure William's subjects, Philip and Louis, surpass Alexander. Furthermore, the last lines are somewhat ambiguous. William names two contemporary poets, Walter and William's deceased friend Giles of Paris. Whereas there is a direct denigration of Walter's subject Alexander, the subject of Giles' *Carolinus*, Charlemagne, is not held up for comparison. Therefore, understood in the framework of the medieval self-debasement *topos*, it is clear that William the Breton never truly believes himself inferior to Walter of Châtillon. Rather, he employs the *topos* to assert precisely the contrary—his superiority over his predecessor.

The Thematic Relationship of the *Philippide* and the *Alexandreis* II:

William, Walter, Virgil and the Muses

We have seen that William the Breton drew on Virgil independently in terms of language, now it behooves us to look at some of the Virgilian motifs present in William the Breton's *Philippide* and absent from Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* and other contemporaries. A curious intersection of pagan and Christian models of inspiration reappears on several occasions in the *Philippide*.[103] Apollo and his servants the Muses, who appear but once in *Alexandreis*, emerge repeatedly throughout William's epic.[104] In

[103] On this particular phenomenon in medieval literature, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Classical Influences on Medieval Latin Views of Poetic Inspiration," in Peter Godman and Oswyn Murray, eds. *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Oxford, 1990) 15-38.

[104] While other medieval authors frequently quoted from Ovid, the direct invocation of Apollo and the Muses for inspiration is unusual prior to the fourteenth century. The final chapter of Fitz Graf's recent book *Apollo* (Routledge, NY, 2008, 116-127) briefly describes the Greek god's survival in literature after antiquity. However, for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Graf only mentions that Apollo did not appear

the *Philippide*, as in most other contemporary works where they are invoked, Apollo, the Muses, and their devotee Virgil are all given a Christian overlay.[105] However, in the *Philippide*, William constructs a new and unusual hierarchy, where Phoebus becomes a mediator, who physically carries divine inspiration down from the heavens to the Muses, who then dispense it to our poet via the Castalian liquor, while the "theologian" Virgil looks on—a sort of poetic "trinity" of inspiration:

> The Muse offers me cups with Castalian liquor and fills my heart with Phoeban inspiration, so that I might undertake to produce the same theme in greater length.[106]
>
> ...
>
> The muse of the theologian Virgil, who carried the ashes of Troy to the stars, would not have been unworthy for these deeds...[107]

Likewise, when William prepares to push forward with the necessary books to complete his work in the lengthy passage cited above, his pagan inspirational "trinity" returns:

> Now, if only now you would wish, Phoebus, to inspire me with all the muses of Helicon, inspiring with holy breath whatever sacred thing is breathed from Cirrhean caves, whatever drink is draught from Castalian waters! O may the spirit of Lucan now run in me, or that of Virgil, or at least the echo of the Theban poet![108]

On this occasion Virgil is not explicitly referred to as the "theologian" and he is accompanied by two other pagan poets, Lucan and Statius,[109] both of whom William had

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in Walter Map's list of the pagan deities before he then skips ahead to Dante and Boccaccio. Of course, the text most relevant for us is Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*. Although Walter of Châtillon uses the name Phoebus on 22 separate occasions and the adjective "Apolline" once in the *Alexandreis*, all but two of these are simply poetic metonymy for the sun. Once, at Book II, l. 529, he appears as the god of prophecy in conjunction with the myth of Croesus and once, Book VII, l. 127, he is called "Delius" and mentioned as a god of archery and a soldier of Zeus during the Gigantomachy. Significantly, Walter never invoked Apollo for inspiration. Walter does, however, invoke the Muses at the beginning of Book I (l. 5) in direct imitation of Vergil's invocation at *Aeneid*, Book I, ll. 8-11.

[105] Ziolkowski, "Classical Influences," *passim*.

[106] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 3-5.

[107] *Philippide*, Book I, "Proposition," ll. 7-8.

[108] *Philippide*, Book IX, ll. 727-732.

[109] Delaborde (*Œuvres*, v. II, 279, n. 4) inexplicably suggested Pindar for the "Theban poet" here. Though he did live at Thebes, Pindar was virtually unknown in the medieval west until the fifteenth-century, and since Statius, author of the *Thebaid*, was already mentioned in the "Proposition" of the *Philippide*, Book I, l. 11-12 (cited the following note) in conjunction with Lucan, the identification seems certain.

mentioned in the introduction as unequal to the task of reciting Philip's deeds.[110] However, Virgil's particular status had already been established at the outset and therefore one need not read any debilitation of that status by his placement within this passage.[111] In fact, Lucan and Statius were introduced in the context of not measuring up, whereas Virgil's capability is never called into question.

Of the myriad pagan allusions William makes in his invocations and elsewhere, most striking is the prominent and curious role given to Phoebus Apollo in William's poem:

> Because, as much as I feel to be weightily dragged, so much less willingly I endure, fearing to collapse under the weight, unless, Phoebus, your grace comforts my senses. I know you; I know that you alone can penetrate the threshold of the heavenly father. You alone, coming down from the celestial citadel, freely inspire whatever is held in the hearts of poets, making it knowable throughout the whole world.[112]

Apollo and therefore the Muses and Virgil as well, have become for William, at least in his poetic universe, members of the Christian theological hierarchy, capable of intervening between man and the divine seat.

Tying all of these figures together is a recurring sailing metaphor. The role of safely guiding William's poetic "ship" through the "unsafe seas," the poet first awards to the Muses:

> Therefore, come, o Muse, and be eager to toil[113] willingly for the honor of so excellent a man, and begin from the year in which the new king first shined forth with the ivory scepter. Let this be the starting point for your new song. Next, describe the triumphs by which France under Philip has earned the right to rule, by which army he subjugated the necks of the Normans to the French people

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[110] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 11-12: "Non his sufficeret fame Lucanus amator, / Aut qui tam sapido Thebaida carmine scripsit."
[111] Rather than imagining Virgil's status to have declined, we might, if anything, understand that the status of Lucan and Statius has improved! See the previous note.
[112] *Philippide*, Book IX, ll. 751-757.
[113] Literally *insudare*, "to sweat."

> when he routed the English king.[114] Following the story you should proceed in proper order, choosing safe shores so as not to sink into the deep.
>
> As such, therefore, first recall the origin of the French race: who was the source of so great a name and from which region were the Franks pushed into these parts. For you know whatever may be, whatever should be known, before it is allowed to be known, and everything that he has done. Make sure that you allow me to know the sea upon which I set sail, so that what follows may be traversed with an easier course. For a method should be observed in all things, and order.[115]

However, William the Breton quickly transfers this role of nautical guardian to Christ in the "*Invocatio Divini Auxilii*" that immediately follows. In an interesting twist, the entire cycle of Christ, Apollo, Muses, and Virgil is closed in his invocation to Christ, where William has explicitly identified Him with one of Virgil's poetic creations, Aeneas' unfortunate helmsman, Palinurus:[116]

> Without you, nothing shines, without you, no path opens. You, light of the eastern star, dissipate the clouds of my mind with a celestial ray, and make my meaning shine with a heavenly light. Teach my hand to write, and my tongue to dictate.[117] Guide me along the proper path, lend me ready strength for my song, for You are the path, You are the guide, You are the ship, You are my Palinurus. Make my passage through the rough seas safe for me.

While many medieval commentators on Virgil had noted the potential Christian significance of Palinurus from *Aeneid*, Book V, "one life will be given for many," none of this particularly intricate metaphorical construction has any parallel in Walter of

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[114] Because he employs the phrase *Anglorum rege fugato* ("with the king of the English having been routed"), this would seem to refer not to Bouvines, but rather to Philip's Norman victories of 1203-4, since previously in the dedication when he explicitly mentions Bouvines ("Dedication to Louis," ll. 30-1) William names only Otto who, unlike John, was physically present at the Battle of Bouvines.

[115] As noted by Delaborde (*Œuvres*, v. II, p. 8), this is an adaptation of Horace, *Satires* I, ll. 106-7: "est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, / quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum." William's preoccupation with the "order" of his work is discussed below, p. 45-55.

[116] In the *Aeneid*, Palinurus was the helmsmen of Aeneas' ship, he was overcome by the magic of Somnus (sleep, in divine form), falls overboard and was abandoned on the shores of Lucania (modern Basilicata, Italy) where the local Lucani killed him. Despite what may appear to be an implied criticism, i.e. falling asleep while on duty, Palinurus became famous as the ideal captain, because after facing considerable resistance, Somnus had to resort to magic. Aeneas later meets Palinurus in the underworld among the wandering souls who did not receive proper burial. *Aeneid*, Book III, l. 202; Book V, ll. 815, 858; Book VI, l. 381.

[117] These lines recall some of the Latin formulations in the Psalms of Jerome's *Vulgate*, although no one particular Psalm is directly quoted.

Châtillon or any other contemporary medieval source. It therefore seems to be an original creation of William the Breton.[118]

[118] *Aeneid*, Book V, l. 815: "unum pro multis dabitur caput." See Ziolkowski, "Classical Influences," where he discusses many different iterations of the Christianization of pagan models of inspiration, but he provides no example of anything comparable to the depth or complexity of what I have shown here. It is interesting to note that William wrote the *Philippide* roughly a century before Dante would famously revive Palinurus in *Purgatorio* of the Divine Comedy. On Palinurus in Dante, see Robert M. Durling, ed. and trans. with an introduction and notes by Ronald L. Martinez and Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio* (Oxford, 2003) 597-600. The sailing metaphor gets a final reassertion at the close of Book I, where, before turning to the escalating military conflicts of the second book, William warns his muse, "Bellona calls us back to war. Sailor, prepare bigger sails, for an even greater sea remains for you to traverse." *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 813-14. Bellona was the Roman (Latin) goddess of war.

Stylistic Features of the *Philippide:*

William the Breton as a Poet

William the Breton wrote the *Philippide* in dactylic hexameter, the traditional meter of epic poetry.[119] Latin dactylic hexameter is a meter determined by syllable length rather than syllable stress. Each line consists of six feet constructed of groups of long and short syllables. Each foot consists of either a spondee (two long syllables) or a dactyl (one long syllable followed by two short syllables) and the sixth foot was always two syllables where the first syllable is long and the second can be either long or short. Equally, the fifth foot was almost always a dactyl. As a testament to William's adherence to classical conventions, throughout the first book of *Philippide* not a single spondaic fifth foot appears.[120] Since ancient times, poets considered dactylic hexameter the appropriate meter for any serious subject matter.[121] William the Breton makes explicit his adherence to this convention when he censures his contemporary Peter Riga for not using dactylic hexameter in his poetic versification of the Bible, the *Aurora*:

> If I did not think it was a fault for you, Peter Riga, to suggest the hidden meanings from the fertile Law, which you made in such a way that Elegy could sing it with light words, constricting the brave deeds of man into a quicker meter—a story which would have been better told in hexameters.[122]

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[119] On the basic mechanics of Latin dactylic hexameter see, for example, William Ramsay, *A Manual of Latin Prosody*, 2nd Edition (London, 1859) 160-9. On its various iterations among the classical Roman poets, see especially L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963) 118-9 and 127-32.
[120] Pannenborg reported (*Der Philipis*, 30) that he did not find any spondaic fifth feet in the entire poem. I did not find any in Book I.
[121] See Ramsay, *Manual of Latin Prosody*, 160-2.
[122] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 14-18.

This criticism probably also represents a subtle nod to William's friend Giles of Paris, who had supplemented Riga's *Aurora* with a versification of the books of the *Acts of the Apostles* in dactylic hexameter.[123]

As for William the Breton's diction, the language of the *Philippide* is a highly self-conscious classicizing Latin.[124] Apart from the consistent monothongation of classical diphthongs common to nearly all Medieval Latin, most of William's vocabulary, grammar and spelling would not have been unfamiliar to Virgil or Ovid.[125] However, there are some features of William's poetry that have caught the attention of the poem's few modern readers as being of a particularly medieval nature.

Foremost among these is the author's penchant for polyptotons, that is, the use of multiple variant forms of the same word stem in rapid succession.[126] This occurs frequently in the *Philippide* and is perhaps best epitomized, for example, by line 34 of the "Dedication to Louis": "You who are worthy to be honored worthily with worthy honor."[127] While the ancient poets frequently used alliteration, this kind of exaggerated word play is more prominent in the lesser poets of antiquity and it often sounds

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[123] Peter Riga, *Aurora, Biblia Versificata*, ed. Paul E Beichner (South Bend, IN, 1965) xxi-xxiv.

[124] Gabrielle Spiegel (*Romancing the Past*, 295) calls William's verses "complex and obscure." Likewise, Sean McGlynn calls the *Philippide* "an epic poem written in difficult Latin." Sean McGlynn, "Useless Mouths," *History Today*, 48 (June, 1998) 41-46. It is my opinion that William the Breton's Latin in the *Philippide* is no more complex, obscure or difficult than anything in Virgil or Ovid.

[125] On monothongation in Medieval Latin, see Alison Goddard Elliot, "A Brief Introduction to Medieval Latin Grammar," in *Medieval Latin*, 2nd Edition, K. P. Harrington, ed. (Chicago, 1997) 3.

[126] Elizabeth Breazeale, "Polyptoton in the Hexameters of Ovid, Lucretius, and Vergil," *Studies in Philology* 14, no. 4 (Oct. 1917) 306-318. Breazeale reported that in the Metamorphoses, Ovid employed polyptotons on average once every thirty-six lines, as opposed to once every eighty-four lines for Virgil in the *Aeneid*. She also distinguished between "simple" and "complex" polyptotons, the simple being the repetition of one word in two different forms and the complex being either the occurrence of three words each in two different forms, of one word in three different forms, or of two words each in two different forms. Again it is Ovid who was more likely to use the complex polyptoton, of which Breazeale recorded 28 separate instances in the *Metamorphoses*. *Ibid.*, 307-8.

[127] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," l. 34: "Dignus qui digne digno decoreris honore." There is also the following complex polyptoton at *Philippide*, Book I, l. 244: "Solo se solius equi solamine solans."

bombastic and maladroit to modern ears. However, it should be noted that one of William's favorite authors, Ovid, did employ polyptotons with some frequency.[128]

In fact, in it is perhaps in terms of diction that Ovid had the greatest influence on William the Breton. As noted above, William never mentions Ovid specifically by name, but rather refers in Book I to the "Ovidian tale" of Pentheus and Acoetes.[129] However, this one tale, somewhat awkwardly inserted into the account of Philip's suppression of the rebellion of Duke Hugh III of Burgundy (1142-1192), seems to have provided William with a wealth of vocabulary.[130] In fact, in the two-hundred and twenty-three lines of Ovid's tale of Pentheus there appear over twenty specific words for which William demonstrates a special predilection, and thirteen of these appear in the first fifty lines.[131] A few of these, such as the supine *admonitu* which directly precedes the reference to Ovid and the pairing of *dignatus* and *honore* in line 521 and *dignabere* and *honore* in line 524, almost certainly represent intentional echoes.[132]

As for William's vocabulary, as noted above, it is for the most part highly classical, occasionally even to the point of obfuscation, as he often uses words which could not possibly still have conveyed the same meaning in the thirteenth century that they had communicated to an ancient Roman audience. Examples of this from Book I

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[128] For example, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book III, l. 382 reads: "voce, 'veni!' magna clamat: vocat illa vocantem," and Book VIII, l. 724: "cura deum di sint, et, qui, coluere, colantur."
[129] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 617-620.
[130] This war with Hugh III of Burgundy is recounted at *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 565-724, below, pp. 99-107.
[131] They are, in order of appearance in Ovid's tale of Pentheus: *meritam* (*Metamorphoses*, Book III, l. 511), *vati* (l. 511), *tenebras* (l. 515), *dignatus* (l. 521), *honore* (ll. 521, 524), *procures* (l. 530), *furor* (l. 531), *proles* (l. 531), *fraudes* (l. 534), *agmina* (l. 535), *Marte* (as a synonym for "battle," l. 540), *moenia* (l. 550), *contemnere* (l. 559). All line numbers refer to their location in *Metamorphoses*, Book III.
[132] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book III, l. 611. On the special importance of *dignus* and *honos* to William the Breton, see below, p. 42-44.

include the words *toga* and *maniplus*.[133] When William refers to the "toga" of the farmer, he clearly cannot mean the formal dress of a Roman senator. Likewise, it is unlikely that the army of Philip Augustus ever used the term "maniple" to refer to a unit of soldiers.

William the Breton also coined at least one word, the verb *hurdare*, which he seems to have adapted from the noun *hurd(e)icium*.[134] Since the related noun *hurdicium* referred to the wooden structures added to the battlements of castles during sieges and William uses *hurdare* in a similar context, one can assume that the verb form apparently coined by William loosely meant "to fortify with wooden battlements."[135]

Furthermore, there are a few words whose numerous repetitions deserve special attention. Foremost among these are the nouns *honos* "honor" and *virtus*, "virtue," the adjective *dignus*, "worth" and its related forms, and the verbs *mereor*, "to earn/merit/deserve," and *decorare*, "to honor/distinguish." These words appear to have been particularly significant to William the Breton's conception of his task as he transformed the deeds of Philip Augustus from a monastic chronicle into an epic poem. The importance of these words in that transformation, in Book I and in the *Philippide* as a whole, will be discussed in detail below.[136]

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[133] *Philippide*, Book I: *toga*, l. 732; *manipli*, ll. 630, 674 and *maniplis*, l. 647.
[134] William uses the passive infinitive *hurdari* at *Philippide*, Book I, l. 601. He later uses *hurdicia* at Book I, l. 670. As a noun, the word *hurdicium* is attested in the accusative plural in the contemporary English chronicler Roger of Howden, according to the *Medieval Latin Word-List From British and Irish Sources*, eds. J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson (London, 1934), "*hurd(e)icium*," 208. I have not uncovered any antecedent for a verb *hurdare*. Also previously unattested is *cirogrillus* "squirrel," of l. 682.
[135] William uses both forms of the word in reference to Philip's siege of Duke Hugh of Burgundy in the castle of Châtillon-sur-Seine toward the end of *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 565-724.
[136] See below, pp. 42–44.

William the Breton as a Historian and a Narrator

It is certain that William composed both the first redaction of his prose *Chronicle* of Philip's deeds and the *Epitome* of Rigord (which accompanied his second redaction) before setting to work on the *Philippide*.[137] Overall, William the Breton's *Chronicle* has received considerably more attention than its poetic counterpart.[138] Delaborde, author of a lengthy essay on William's prose *Chronicle* and subsequently the editor of the complete surviving works of William and his predecessor Rigord, recommended that the works should always be consulted in parallel.[139] However, few have heeded his advice.[140] The basis for Delaborde's caveat, with which I concur, becomes apparent even in the small section of the chronicles with which we are concerned. For while both authors had certain prejudices, which often overlap, their differences in perspective frequently lead to considerable variance in both the information provided, as William often added details not present in Rigord, and the relative emphasis given to those episodes common to both.

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[137] William's reference to leaving it to others to "extol [Philip's deeds] in a higher style and with a true song" in the introduction to the *Epitome* in the second redaction of his *Chronicle* (see Appendix I) and his statement that he is returning "to produce the same theme in greater quantity" in the "Dedication to Louis" of the *Philippide* (pp. 67-9, below) make this explicit. Delaborde went to great lengths to remove all doubt about this in his *Étude* (23-30) and in his edition of the texts (*Œuvres*, v. I, xlviiii).

[138] This was not necessarily true in nineteenth century when the *Philippide* was the subject of both a 116 page Latin thesis by Charles Antoine Gidel, *De Philippide Guillelmi Britonis disputatio* (1857), and the lengthy specialized study in German, *Zur Kritik der Philipis*, by Pannenborg (1880). However, in the twentieth century, although there has not been a single specialized study on either work, scholars still frequently cite the *Chronicle* as an authority for a countless number of twelfth and thirteenth century topics, whereas the *Philippide* has only very rarely been mentioned and even then, only by the handful of experts on the person of Philip Augustus, his government or the literature of his age, such as Duby, Baldwin, Spiegel, Bradbury, Carpentier and Robert-Barzman. See n. 1, above. This situation makes the comment of Delaborde, who lamented the then current "vogue" for the *Philippide* somewhat ironic. Delaborde, *Étude*, 39.

[139] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, lxxiii: "Les deux textes se complètent donc mutuellement et l'historien devra toujours les consulter parallèlement."

[140] An exception, beyond those cited in n. 1 above, is John Gillingham, "Richard I, Galley-Warfare and Portsmouth: The Beginnings of a Royal Navy," *Thirteenth-Century England* 6 (1995) 1-15.

In addition, when William later created a poetic version of Philip's deeds in the *Philippide*, he often adds even more information and detail that had not previously appeared in either Rigord or his own *Epitome*. Much of this additional material falls outside the boundaries of mere poetic embellishment. Therefore, in order to determine how we should interpret these additions, we should first look at William's stated conception of his task as a historian before turning to the decisions he made in composing the *Philippide*.

Several of William's statements demonstrate that he adhered, at least conceptually, to an Isidorian model of history, in which eyewitness testimony was to be valued above second hand report and in which, ideally, the historian was a participant in the events narrated.[141] In fact, much of what he wrote, both in the introduction to his *Epitome* and in the *Philippide*, seem to consciously echo Isidore of Seville's chapter "*De historia*" from the *Etymologiae*.[142] Although William contended in the introduction to his *Epitome* of Rigord that he wrote "not so that [he] should deserve to be called either a

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[141] Sixth-century Spanish Bishop Isidore of Seville's description of what history and historians should be is laid out in his *Etymologiae*, Book I, 41, and quoted at length in the note which follows.

[142] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, Book I, 41, "Historia est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur. Dicta autem Graece historia □π□ το□ □σορε□ν, id est a videre vel cognoscere. Apud veteres enim nemo conscribebat historiam, nisi is qui interfuisset, et ea quae conscribenda essent vidisset. Melius enim oculis quae fiunt deprehendimus, quam quae auditione colligimus. Quae enim videntur, sine mendacio proferuntur." Compare with William's statement in the introduction to his *Epitome*, 1 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 168): "Quoniam autem sequentia ejusdem regis opera non minori laude, immo multo excellentiori preconio digna sunt, ego Guillelmus natione Armoricus, officio presbyter, qui pro maxima parte non solum his, sed et precedentibus ejusdem regis operibus interfui, et ea propriis oculis aspexi, eadem gesta plano quidem et usuali eloquio litteris commendavi, non ut inde laudis aliquid videar mendicare aut chronographus sive historiographus vocari merear, sed ne tanti viri tam preclara gesta aliter quam veritas se habet, a magnis et sapientibus doctoribus describi contingat." And in lines 10-11, 19-20 of the *Nuncupatio* to the *Philippide* (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 1): "Si licuit, Galtere, tibi que sola relatu / Multivago docuit te vociferation fame; ... Cur ego que novi, proprio que lumine vidi, / Non ausim magni magnalia scribere regis." The English translation of these lines of the "Dedication to Louis" is on p. 68 below. The English translation of the preceding passage of William's *Epitome* is found on p. 113 of Appendix I. Isidore has recently been translated into English for the first time as Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (translators), *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006). The Latin text is available online at The Latin Library, http://thelatinlibrary.com/isidore.html.

chronicler or a historian," he was nevertheless keen to remind the reader of his status as an eyewitness.[143] This is especially interesting given that the same Rigord, monk of Saint Denis, whose chronicle served as the source for nearly all the material of both William's *Epitome* and Book I of the *Philippide*, had referred to himself as "chronicler of the king of the Franks."[144] In the *Epitome*, William also wrote that he would "let learned men for whom the vein of genius is more fertile... extol in a higher style ... the praises of the most Christian king and most vigorous man."[145] In addition, William censures "writer[s]" who "when seeking to please, partially corrupt the series of deeds with lying."[146] So if William did not consider himself a chronicler, a historian, or, as yet, a poet or a panegyrist, what did he consider himself when writing the *Epitome*?

Evidently, he considered himself first and foremost an eyewitness. Even when referring to the fact that he has culled his information from Rigord, he includes that he did so, "exactly as I have seen and understood things *with my eyes*."[147] Secondly, he considers himself a purveyor of truth. In fact, in his brief introduction to the *Epitome*, William uses some synonym for truth five times and on four occasions refers to the avoidance of falsehood.[148] Interestingly, all of these seem to be connected to the other

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[143] William the Breton, *Epitome*, 1 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 168): "non ut inde ... aut chronographus sive historiographus vocari merear." The lengthy citation from the introduction of William's *Epitome* of the previous note is followed shortly thereafter by "et prout oculis vidi et intellexi," (*ibid.*).

[144] On the "controversy" surrounding Rigord's self-stylization as "chronographus Francorum regis," see Baldwin, *Government*, 396 and Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, 56-63.

[145] William the Breton, *Epitome*, 1 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, p. 169): "Legant ergo viri literati quibus est fecundior ingenii vena et intelligant historie veritatem et, sine falsitatis admixtione, stylo altiori et veridico carmine regis christianissimi et strenuissimi viri preconia extollant."

[146] *Ibid.*: "Sepe enim fit ut scriptor, dum placere querit, gestorum seriem partim mendacio decoloret."

[147] *Ibid.*: "et prout oculis vidi et intellexi." The emphasis is my own. Delaborde noted that the London manuscript (Cotton., Vespasianus D. IV), which he suggested represented the final redaction of William's chronicle, included the intensifying word "*propriis*" prior to "*oculis*." Delaborde, *Œuvres*, 169, n. 1.

[148] They are, in order: *mendicare*, *veritas*, *veritatem*, *falsitatis*, *veridico*, *veraciter*, *veridicum*, *falsitatis*, and *mendacio*, and all appear in the first section. William the Breton, *Epitome*, 1 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 169).

self-defined feature of his work—his simplicity of style.[149] The series begins with William telling us that he has "committed these deeds to paper in plain and ordinary words, so that I do not therefore seem in any way to lie with praises."[150] Then, when inviting men of greater ability to turn Philip's deeds into song, he tells them to first "read this and understand the truth of history," so that they may do so "with a true song, without stirring in falsehood."[151] It would seem that William was aware that praise, high style and, possibly even poetry itself, were intimately, though perhaps not inextricably, connected to mendacity.[152]

How then, does William the Breton present himself in the *Philippide*, a poetic panegyric written in self-conscious, highly stylized Latin? Again he presents himself primarily as a witness. This is especially marked by his comments addressed to Walter of Châtillon in the opening of *Philippide* where he reproaches the author of the *Alexandreis* for telling a story "which only the bellow of second hand tales and wide-ranging report taught you."[153] To this, William juxtaposes his defense of his own audacious undertaking: "why would I not dare to write great things—*things which I know* and *which I have seen with my own eyes* about a great king."[154]

In spite of these Isidorian claims, it is important to recognize that most, if not all, of the contemporary events recounted in Book I of the *Philippide* can presumably stem

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[149] William professes to write with "plano quidem et usuali eloquio" and says Philip's deeds need nothing extra to be worth of praise, "si fuerint veraciter et simpliciter enarrati." *Ibid.*

[150] *Ibid.*: "eadem gesta plano quidem et usuali eloquio litteris commendavi, non ut inde laudis aliquid videar mendicare."

[151] The entire line is quoted above in n. 145.

[152] This idea is a major theme of Spiegel's *Romancing the Past*. See especially Chapters three and four (pp. 99-213). However, *cf.* the insightful comments on "narrative plausibility" of Justin C. Lake in "Truth, plausibility, and the virtues of narrative at the millennium," *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009) 221-238.

[153] See n. 81 above.

[154] See p. 21 and n. 82 above. The emphasis is my own.

only from second hand reports, since it seems unlikely that William entered the service of the king much earlier than 1190 and all but one of the events of the first book predate that by several years.[155] In fact, in contrast to much of the contemporary material of the later books of the *Philippide,* where William often did relate his eyewitness accounts, the contemporary events of Book I were drawn almost entirely from the opening books of Rigord's history.[156] Furthermore, for the events which were not at all contemporary, notably the lengthy excursus on the history of the Franks which occupies nearly one-fifth of the first book, William employed a number of secondary sources which often provided conflicting accounts of events.[157] Therefore, William's adherence to Isidore's tenants was selective and, as far as Book I of the *Philippide* is concerned, he was often nearly as guilty as Walter of Châtillon of employing only "second hand tales."[158]

In contrast to his stance in the introduction to the *Epitome*, in Book I of the *Philippide*, William seems to have dropped his pretension of being a purveyor of truth. In fact, his only mention of truth in the opening of Book I is accompanied by the word *conor*, "to try, endeavor, or venture," in the first line of the *Proposition*, "I will briefly *try* to tell with a truthful song," with no promise of success.[159] Instead, William's only

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[155] The one exception being the burning of the Jews of Brie. On this event, see below, Appendix I, p. 126. On William's career, see above, pp. 6-13.
[156] See below, pp. 45-48.
[157] The history of the Franks appears at Book I, ll. 55-218. Translated below, Appendix I, pp. 76-84.
[158] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 10-11, below, p. 113. William rebukes Walter of Châtillon regarding his sources for the *Alexandreis*. This is especially true for the lengthy excursus "On the Origin of the Franks," (*Philippide*, Book I, ll. 55-218) where William largely follows Rigord, but also incorporates material from the *Chronicle* of Fredegar and the anonymous *Liber Historiae Francorum*. While the history of the Franks at the Capetian court has garnered some attention, a complete study of the variations and their potential significance is a desideratum.
[159] *Philippide*, Book I, l. 3: "Carmine veridico summatim dicere conor." Interesting as well is the accompanying adverb *summatim* meaning "on the surface," "slightly," or as here, in the context of composition meaning "in summary." Of course, the *Philippide* is anything but brief or a summary, so perhaps William subconsciously admits that his song is "veridico summatim," or truthful only on the surface? The emphasis is my own.

mention of falsehood comes in what could be read as a statement of complicity with the very writers he criticizes. When William seeks to "excuse [his] bold undertaking," his main line of argument revolves around what others have done:

> If it was permitted for you, Walter, to describe in epic verse the deeds of the general of Macedon, which only the bellow of second hand tales and wide-ranging reports taught you; If it was allowed for each national poet to boast his own people's lies with a grand sounding shout; If I did not think it was a fault for you, Peter Riga, to suggest the hidden meanings from the fertile Law, which you made in such a way that Elegy could sing it with light words, constricting the brave deeds of man into a quicker meter—a story which would have been better told in Maeonian feet; [160]

In parsing this passage, it is clear that William claims three reasons for which he should "dare" to write the *Philippide*. First, he may do so because he is better informed about Philip than Walter of Châtillon was about Alexander, due to his status as an eyewitness. Second, since each "national poet" has been able to make false claims about his people, it would appear that William was arguing that he should be permitted to do so as well. Finally, because he believes that he has a better understanding of poetics than Peter Riga, he can produce a poem about Philip in an appropriate style.[161] In the response which follows these three rhetorical questions, William addresses each of these issues in turn:

> Then why would I not dare to write great things—things which I know and which I have seen with my own eyes—about about a great king, who is not less than Alexander in virtue, nor less than he who subdued the whole earth to the city of Romulus.[162]

William again points out his status as an eyewitness, though interestingly, on this occasion he makes no claim to the veracity of his reports; he only states that they are first hand, making the absence of any form of "*veritas*" conspicuous. Next, he addresses the "national poet[s]" by the direct comparison of his subject, Philip, as being greater than

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[160] *Philippide* Book I, ll. 9-18.
[161] On Peter Riga, see the learned introduction to the edition of the *Aurora*, by Beichner, xi-xvii.
[162] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 19-22.

both of the cynosures of two other "nationalities," the Greeks and the Romans.[163] Finally, he implicitly addresses his criticism of Peter Riga by writing in the Maeonian meter (dactylic hexameter) which he felt Riga should have used for the *Aurora*. In fact, the slower pace of the meter in the two lines which call Peter's poetic choice into question seems to highlight this point.[164]

So what, then, has replaced truth for William the poet? Unquestionably, it is "worth." William's use of various forms of the words *dignus* ("worthy"), *virtus* ("virtue"), *mereor* ("to merit;" "to deserve"), and *honos* ("honor") is striking. He employs various forms of *dignus* or its morphologically negated form (*indignus*) on twenty separate occasions throughout the Dedications and Book I.[165] The most notable example of this is the exaggerated polyptoton in line 34 of his Dedication to Louis VIII, which also includes *honos* and a related verb *decorare* ("to honor"): "You, worthy to be honored worthily with a worthy honor."[166] Similarly, William utilizes various forms of *virtus* on eighteen occasions throughout the dedications and Book I and forms of *mereor* and *honos* appear seventeen times and thirteen times, respectively.[167]

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[163] This direct comparison with the Greeks and Romans would seem to connect William with the concept of the *translatio studii*, as exemplified in Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès: Edition critique du manuscript B. N. fr. 12560,* ed. and trans. Charles Méla and Olivier Collet (Paris, 1994). For a discussion of this concept as regards the so-called "twelfth-century renaissance," see C. Stephen Jaeger, "Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century 'Renaissance,'" 1165.

[164] The two lines in question (ll. 17-8) are two consecutive five-dactyl lines, drawing them out to the maximum possible length and causing the reader to linger on them. For more on William's use of meter in the *Philippide*, see above, p. 32.

[165] They are: "Dedication to Louis," l. 34: *dignus, digne, digno*; "Dedication to Pierre Charlot," l. 49: *dignos, digno*; "Proposition," l. 7: *indigna*; l. 10: *digne*, l. 13: *digne*; "On the Origin of the Franks," l. 59: *dignos*; l. 206: *dignum*; l. 259: *dignam*; l. 286: *dignans*; l. 346: *dignior*; l. 355: *dignatio*; l. 446: *indignans*; l. 481: *dignatus*; l. 494: *digne*; l. 567: *indignans*; l. 622: *indignans*; l. 691: *digna*.

[166] "Dedication to Louis," l. 34: "Dignus qui digne digno decoreris honore."

[167] Forms of *virtus* appear at: "Dedication to Louis," ll. 21, 28; "Dedication to Pierre Charlot," ll. 50, 54; "Invocation for Divine Aid," l. 38; "On the Origin of the Franks," ll. 115, 152, 190; ll. 272, 279, 341, 369, 493, 497, 499, 685, 691, 730. Forms of *mereor* appear at: "Dedication to Louis," l. 27; "Proposition," l. 25; On the Origin of the Franks," ll. 158, 178, 187, 197, 216; ll. 262, 310, 317, 322, 426, 477, 492, 526,

In contrast, he uses forms of *veritas* or its adjective *verus* a total of only ten times, three of which are grouped together in two lines of his invocation to Christ, which seem to be lifted directly from the Credo of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): "you who are truly the Word, light from true light and true God from true God."[168] A fourth use is to describe the "truth" of transubstantiation.[169] Two more, used adverbially, should probably be simply translated as "indeed."[170] Another is the aforementioned "*carmine veridico*" of the opening line of the *Propositio* and one is used merely to intensify William's subjective opinion regarding the city of Paris, "although truly no place in all the world outshines her now."[171] Of the remaining two, one is put into the mouth of Valentinian to strengthen his pun as he addresses the Franks, "Those men I will truly call Franks, or better Ferancos," and is directly connected to their stated "*virtus*," and the other syntactically enhances the comparative adjective *dignior*: "that our king is truly more worthy than all other kings."[172]

Therefore, it would seem that in the *Philippide*, William the Breton is no longer concerned so much with the truth of his song, but rather that it be worthy of his deserving subject and dedicatees. What truth there is, William connected either to Christianity or "virtue" and "worth." These are, of course, the two qualities for which William most explicitly praises Philip Augustus—his piety and his feats of arms:

552, 711. Forms of *honos* appear at: "Dedication to Louis," l. 34; "Catalogue of Materials," unnumbered first line; "Proposition," l. 21; "On the Origin of the Franks," ll. 68, 169, 181; ll. 258, 284, 339, 356, 452, 476, 729.

[168] Book I, "Invocation for Divine Aid," ll. 40-1: "Qui vere es verbum, lumen de lumine vero, / Deque Deo vero versus Deus, unus et idem."

[169] Book I, "Invocation for Divine Aid," ll. 50-2: "Consulat humane sua per mysteria Christus, / Quotidie patri qui se veraciter ipsum / Sub panis specie pro peccatoribus offert."

[170] The adverb *vere* appears in l. 209 and l. 544.

[171] Book I, "On the Origin of the Franks," ll. 102-3: "Cui, quamvis vere toto preluceat illi / Nullus in orbe lucus..."

[172] Book I, ll. 345-6: "Quo major nostri patet excellentia regni, / Dignior ut vere rex noster rege sit omni."

> Then why would I not dare to write great things—things which I know and which I have seen with my own eyes—about a great king, who is not less than Alexander in virtue, nor less than he who subdued the whole earth to the city of Romulus. The favor of the church and the defense of the clergy prove this, who, smiling under that famous prince and enjoying freedom, the friend of peace, subdues all enemies to itself. Twelve years for the Macedonian and sixteen years Julius Caesar barely earned to carry out celebrated victories. Whereas the vigorous virtue of Karolide had 32 continuous years for conquering enemies, up to the moment when he defeated Otto and the Germans and the English and the Flemish, all of whom he utterly crushed in one battle at Bouvines.[173]

So for William the Breton, it would seem, the truth of his poem lies in the veracity of Philip's success as a defender of the faith and a defender of the nation, which, in the wake of the Battle of Bouvines, were incontrovertible facts.[174]

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[173] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Louis," ll. 19-31.
[174] Baldwin, *Government*, 398-9.

William's Changes in Narrative Structure:

From Rigord to the *Epitome* to the *Philippide*

Although he often took liberties with the historical chronology of events, William the Breton was obviously concerned with the "order" of his narratives.[175] In fact, William opens both the *Epitome* of Rigord and the *Philippide* with admonitions about following proper order, although order does not seem to necessarily equate to chronology.[176] However, the only significant change in the order of materials from Rigord's chronicle to William's *Epitome* was, in essence, one of chronology, converting Rigord's tangential digression on the history of the Franks into a lengthy prologue that leads us from the fall of Troy to the advent of Philip Augustus.[177] Although William frequently added or suppressed details from Rigord's chronicle, after the transfer of the history of the Franks to the beginning, thereafter the *Epitome* faithfully follows the chronology laid out by its predecessor. Not so in the *Philippide*, where William, in addition to a further round of additions and subtractions from Rigord's text, has also dramatically altered the order of narration of events on several occasions. After a brief look at what William had already changed while epitomizing Rigord's text, I shall turn to his more significant alteration of the narrative in Book I of the *Philippide*.

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[175] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, lv-lvi

[176] William the Breton, *Epitome*, 1 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 169): "Et quia de Francorum regno sermo habetur, de eorum origine narration nostra sumat exordium, ut, cognita eorum origine, historiam gestorum competentius ordiamur; prius enim de quolibet quis sit quam quid ipse fecerit, inquirendum." William the Breton, *Philippide*, Book I, "Proposition," ll. 28-9; 37: "Historiamque sequens, procedas ordine recto, / Littora tuta legens, ne demergare profundo. ... Observandus enim modus est in rebus, et ordo."

[177] Rigord had included the history of the Franks as a lengthy digression from his description of the beautification of Paris by Philip Augustus. Rigord, *Chronicle*, Sections 37-39 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 53-64).

The most dramatic change from Rigord's chronicle to the *Epitome* is William the Breton's transformation of Rigord's digression on the history of the Franks into a lengthy prologue. However, William made other additions, large and small, many of which later find their way into the *Philippide*. The most significant omissions are the removal of the council called by Louis VII to announce his intention to crown Philip while he lived and the episode of the boar hunt which preceded the attempted coronation of Philip in August 1179.[178]

In the first of these, the old king sought the "counsel and will" of the prelates of France prior to crowning his young son Philip.[179] While we may only speculate about William's reasons for the suppression of this particular event, it is perhaps noteworthy that no other contemporary chronicle, French or English, recorded it.[180] The second and more striking omission, the hunt which directly preceded Philip's aborted coronation, William emphatically reinserted later, albeit with important alterations, in Book I of the *Philippide*, as detailed below.

The most noteworthy additions are the story of Clovis' baptism by St. Remy and the exile and martyrdom of Thomas Becket, including the subsequent pilgrimage of Louis VII to Becket's tomb at Canterbury.[181] Both of these additions will play a significant role in the narrative of Book I and in the *Philippide* as a whole, as discussed in detail below. Therefore, whether or not William the Breton already had his larger poetic

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[178] Rigord, *Chronicle*, 2, 3.
[179] Rigord, *Chronicle*, 2: "cum consilio eorum et voluntate."
[180] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 10, n. 4.
[181] Clovis' baptism: William the Breton, *Epitome*, 8 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 173-4). Thomas Becket affair: *Epitome*, 14 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 178-9).

composition in mind when he made these alterations in the *Epitome*, it is clear that some overarching concept of narrative "order" was guiding his reconstruction of Rigord.

Returning to Book I of the *Philippide*, while there are many brief embellishments, apart from the dedication to Pierre Charlot and the two poetic invocations for divine aid, there are only two events which have absolutely no analogue in either Rigord or the *Epitome*. Both of these involve visions, are intimately connected with William's favorite word, "*dignus*," and seem to form integral parts of William's recasting of Rigord's narrative in order to suit his overarching meta-theme of the *Philippide*—Philip Augustus as the avenger of Thomas Becket.

The first of these visions is, in fact, a part of the most important transformation of the narrative—the Becket episode. Rigord seems to have deliberately suppressed information about St. Thomas.[182] He made no mention of Louis VII's pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb at Canterbury to secure the recovery of Philip as the latter lay ill following his hunting misadventure prior to the aborted coronation attempt of August, 1179.[183] In fact, in his entire *Chronicle*, the monk of St. Denis only mentions Thomas Becket on one occasion, at the death of Henry II:

> However, twelve days after this [the capture of Tours by Philip and Richard the Lionheart], which is eight days after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul [June 26], Henry, king of England died at Chinon, who had been prosperous enough in all things up until the time of Philip, king of the Franks, whom the

[182] See Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 12, n. 1, where he hypothesized that as a monk of St. Denis, Rigord perhaps felt the intervention of Thomas Becket represented an incursion on the traditional rights of St. Denis as the "regum Francorum patronus et defensor," as recorded in Rigord's chronicle just a few lines above. Rigord, *Chronicle*, 3. The momentous event of the first King of France to ever set foot in England attracted significant attention from contemporary English chroniclers, including the *Gesta Regis Henri Secundi*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series no. 49 (London, 1868) v. I, 240-3, which records that Becket actually appeared to Louis in a vision, and Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimmock and G. F. Warner, Rolls Series, no. 21 (London, 1861-91) v. 8, 159.

[183] Rigord did, however, record that while he was lost, Philip himself prayed to Mary and St. Denis and was thus found by a peasant and that Louis and the whole church prayed for Philip's speedy recovery. Rigord, *Chronicle*, 3, Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 10-1).

> Lord had place as a bridle in his mouth, to vindicate the blood of blessed Thomas of Canterbury.[184]

Rigord's suggestive conclusion evidently had a profound impact on William the Breton. Looking back on Philip's career from the vantage point of a very different political landscape in the wake of Bouvines, William chose to recast the entire narrative of Philip's achievements in the *Philippide* as the fulfillment of Rigord's prophetic phrase. It is also apparent that William effected this transformation only *after* the completion of his second redaction of his own *Chronicle*, which included the *Epitome* of Rigord. This is obvious because, on the one hand, in the *Epitome*, William recorded Louis' pilgrimage and his prayer to Becket which Rigord had left out. However, on the other hand, William did not record the event which led to the pilgrimage, Philip's illness following the boar hunt, which Rigord had included.[185] Most tellingly, when he arrived at the death of Henry II in the *Epitome*, William did not include Rigord's editorial regarding its larger significance and its connection to Thomas Becket.[186] However, William dramatically reinserts Rigord's comments and the connection to Becket at the recount of Henry's death in Book III of the *Philippide*.[187] Therefore, William must have conceived this meta-theme of Philip Augustus as the avenger of Becket only after completing the second redaction of his *Chronicle* and the *Epitome* of Rigord but before setting to work on the *Philippide*.

So, when it came time to construct the narrative arc of the *Philippide*, William recombined the two elements of the story, the failed coronation of Philip and Louis'

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[184] Rigord, 67 (Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 96): "Revolutis autem diebus XII, videlicet in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, obiit rex Anglie Henricus apud Chinonium, satis in omnibus prospere agens usque ad tempora Philippi Francorum regis, quem Dominus pro freno in ore ejus posuit, pro vindicando sanguine beati Thome Cantuariensis."
[185] Compare William the Breton, *Epitome*, 14, and Rigord, *Chronicle*, 3.
[186] William the Breton, *Epitome*, 49.
[187] *Philippide*, Book III, ll. 747-756.

subsequent pilgrimage, which had first appeared separately in Rigord's *Chronicle* and in an original addition by William in his *Epitome* of Rigord, respectively. After Louis' long prayer to Becket, which includes a reported promise of Becket to Louis to repay the king's former kindness any way he could, William makes explicit the import of this exchange:

> This event and the following deeds prove that such holy vows of Philip's father were heard by the holy martyr—for the piety of his father and the merit of the blessed martyr helped Philip, and he rendered himself through all things such that he would be worthy for the gifts of heaven. Rather more, the saint chose Philip specifically as avenger of his blood and decided, through him and through his future sons, to extirpate from its very roots that whole bloodthirsty race of Patricides.[188]

It is through the piety (*pietas*) of Philip's father that the relationship between the deserving (*meritum*) saint and his worthy (*dignus*) protégé is established. However, William did not make Becket appear directly to Philip, but rather introduces "a certain holy man" who was supposed to reveal the martyr's message to the king:

> And the martyr himself showed this same thing by divine inspiration to a certain holy man and ordered him to tell Philip, so that the king would be more confident that his wars would please God. And although that man put off revealing the thing that he had seen until the time when all of them were nearly extinct, the deed itself created belief in warring Philip, and by this fact it was proved that the vengeance of the martyr had been entrusted to him.[189]

Again, we may only speculate as to why William did not have the saint appear directly to Philip. Perhaps the author's attempt to maintain a "*carmine veridico*" made him stop short of the outright fabrication of an event regarding the king for which there was absolutely no testimony.[190]

The second event which has no analogue in either Rigord's *Chronicle* or William's *Epitome* is an otherwise unreported vision that Philip himself experiences

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[188] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 320-328.
[189] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 329-335.
[190] On the "carmine veridico," see above, p. 40 and n. 159.

while hearing mass at the castle of Yveline.[191] According to William, during the mass when the priest lifted the host on high, Philip was struck by a vision of the infant Christ in the priest's hands, which the king alone saw. Again, William connects the story directly with his favorite terms "*dignus,*" "*mereor,*" "*honos*" and "*virtus.*" The vision is inserted after the account of Philip's first military campaign which he borrowed from Rigord, namely, the suppression of Counts Hebo, Guy and Imbert. And, in the words of the poet, this vision came to Philip because:

> ...the new recruit chose to defend the patrimony of the Crucified One with arms rather than to surround himself with vain youths, or to follow the pompous honor (*honorem*) of vainglory. And thus he earned (*merebatur*) the aid of the Lord and the propitious outcomes of years to come as God directed the acts of His young champion enjoying His favor. What is more, the king was deemed worthy (*dignatus*) to be visited with the following signs and to be shown the naked face of the Lord.[192]

Moreover, the king alone is witness to this miracle because:

> no onlooker deserved (*promeruit*) to see this sign, not even the priest himself. The mystical vision (*virtus*)[193] revealed itself to the king alone—such a thing could worthily (*digne*) show itself to him alone. And through this sign, he who was already quick to protect the clerics and the church, because of this sign, would, even more readily and more devoted by far, bind himself to the work of virtue (*virtutis*) for the rest of his life.[194]

Philip deserved to see this sign because, once again, he is deemed worthy in light of his virtue, both that which he already possessed and that to come which the miracle would create in him, his avoidance of false honor and, most importantly, his defense of the church.

In fact, in many ways, the *Philippide* recounts the final acts of the Capetian-Angevin struggle. For William the Breton, the crucial difference between the kings of France and England is their contrasting relationships with the church and its ministers.

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[191] Delaborde reports that a similar, though not identical, miracle was reported by Robert of Auxerre as having taken place at Orleans in August of 1181. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 27, n. 2.
[192] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 469-481.
[193] Literally, "*virtute.*" The usage of *virtus* as "miracle," "angel," or "heavenly power," is widely attested in Medieval Latin. See, Baxter, ed., *Medieval Latin Word List*, p. 458.
[194] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 491-497.

According to William, Philip stands at the culmination of over a thousand years of Frankish kings who, since Clovis, were anointed with "that same oil which God, through angelic hands and prepared by divine virtue, granted to be used by our kings, so that it consecrates only those successors of the Franks who grasp the scepters—the oil by which the greater excellence of our kingdom is known, so that our king is truly more worthy than all other kings."[195] In contrast, John is the last of the "race of patricides," and is "completely devoid of piety" and "deserved to be the cause of his father's death."[196] William began to construct this dichotomy from the beginning of the *Philippide* with the final original addition to Book I, the story of the baptism of Clovis.

This account begins by introducing the "enemy of man who always begrudges the honor of the church," who endeavors to prevent or at least forestall Clovis' baptism by breaking St. Remy's vase of holy oil and thus diminish the "worth" (*meritum*) of the king.[197] Clovis' pagan followers are moved and imagine that the vase has been broken as a "sign" (*virtute*) from their gods.[198] However, St. Remy, through holy prayers, "earned" (*meruit*) that another vase be sent down from heaven.[199] This miracle, in contrast to Philip's vision at Yveline, is seen by all (*cunctisque videntibus*).[200] And thus, the "enemy of the church, intending to deceive, made himself worthy (*dignum*) to lose all the Franks."[201]

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[195] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 340-346.
[196] "Race of patricides," *Philippide*, Book I, l. 328. "Devoid of piety," *Philippide*, Book V, l. 623. "Worthy to have caused his father's death," *Philippide*, Book III, ll. 743-745.
[197] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 181; 187.
[198] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 189-195.
[199] *Philippide*, Book I, l. 196-8.
[200] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 199.
[201] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 204-206.

The picture of William's restructuring of Rigord's narrative becomes complete when we recall that the story of the attempted coronation and Louis' pilgrimage directly follow this account of the baptism of Clovis. Instead of continuing with the narrative of the Frankish kings as both Rigord's *Chronicle* and his own *Epitome* had done, William instead simply left a space for a genealogical tree so that he could immediately proceed to the failed attempt to crown Philip and Louis VII's pilgrimage to Becket's tomb.[202] The connection between Clovis' baptism and Philip's hunting mishap is made explicit by the near repetition of the methods of the "enemy" (*hostis*). First, William hints that the boar Philip chased may have been something other than a mere animal: "that deceptive boar, if it is right to call a boar one who wanted to inflict such a plague on us..."[203] Later, William explicitly states that the entire episode was the work of "our enemy":

> However, no doubt, this trial happened to the boy so that God, by this accident, might render him better and more attentive to care for the affairs of the kingdom. And, in fact, this event which heralded so much honor (*honore*), which his excellence made worthy (*dignam*) to be hoped for, by how much it is postponed, by how much more painful struggle has been to achieve it, then the more pleasing it is, the more dear it is, and he deserves (*meretur*) to be loved with that much more zeal. For cheap is the thing which offers itself without a struggle, and the thing bought with labor is held more dear. Furthermore, by this deed our Enemy was confounded, he who always loves to corrupt good seeds, who, when he is not able to bear them off, works at least to put off our rewards, and is always an opponent to good deeds. But he can do no harm, except as much as is permitted to him by God, who tests and trains us through him so that in the end, when we have conquered temptation, He may crown us and so practiced virtue (*virtus*) may grow in us.[204]

William's description of the "Enemy [the devil] ... who, when he is not able to take them away, works at least to put off our rewards," consciously echoes the account of the tactics of this same figure at the baptism of Clovis where "the Enemy ... hoped to make the king break his vow or at least put off his baptism for a few hours."[205] Also striking is the by-now expected invocation of all four of William's bywords, *honos*, *dignus*, *mereor* and

[202] Rigord, *Chronicle*, 38. William the Breton, *Epitome*, 8-9. *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 209-254.
[203] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 236-7.
[204] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 255-274.
[205] The repetition of "saltem differre" at ll. 185 and 267 makes this connection patent.

virtus. Furthermore, William strengthens the connection between Philip and Becket by eliminating the young prince's prayer to Mary and St. Denis, as recorded in Rigord.[206] These patron saints of Rigord's monastery were not important to William's narrative arc. Rather, by eliminating this detail, William is able to focus the reader's attention on Becket, who plays the crucial role as divine intercessor on behalf of the Capetians in their struggle against the Angevins.

Therefore, by moving immediately from Clovis' baptism to Louis' pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas' in search of aid for Philip, and drawing a parallel between the evil forces working against the French kings, William is able to closely tie these two events which in reality were eight-hundred years apart. Likewise, during his prayer to Becket, Louis refers to Henry as the "enemy of the faith," (*fidei ... hostis*) in order to create a deliberate connection to the "enemy of the church" (*ecclesiae ... hostis*) of the baptism of Clovis.[207] The two are also connected by the "falseness" of their actions. Henry had called back Thomas with a "false truce" just as the devil had "deceitfully" constructed a "fraud" to forestall Clovis' baptism.[208]

However, in order to maintain the meta-theme of Philip as the avenger of Becket beyond the opening books, when William arrives at the death of Henry II at the end of Book III, he uses the occasion to transfer the old king's guilt for the "murder of St. Thomas and his brothers," to his son John.[209] Although Henry's sins are made plain, it is in fact John who "deserved (*mereretur*) to be the cause of his father's death, because of his [John's] deceit (*fraude*)." This phrase deliberately recalls how the devil, at the

[206] Rigord, *Chronicle*, 3.
[207] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 205; 290.
[208] *Philippide*, Book I, l. 291: "ficta...pace;" and l. 205: "Dum fraudem struit ecclesie fallaciter hostis."
[209] *Philippide*, Book III, ll. 751-754.

baptism of Clovis, "made himself worthy (*dignum*) to lose all of the Franks because he deceitfully constructed this fraud (*fraudem*)."[210]

Thus, contrary to the assertions of Guizot and those who have followed him, the *Philippide* was not a mere versification of Philip's deeds as recorded in the *Epitome* and the *Chronicle*. Rather, by some subtle rearranging of materials and the insertion or reinsertion of some key events, William the Breton was able to recast the life and deeds of Philip Augustus as the vindication of Becket and the suppression of those responsible, directly in the case of Henry and indirectly in the case of John, for his murder.

Ultimately, however, William was forced to abandon his meta-theme of Philip as the avenger of Becket. There are still traces of the Becket theme in Book XII as we have it, where William suggests that the defeated co-conspirators of John should have received the punishment of patricides and he describes John's death as the fitting result of his crimes.[211] However, neither Becket nor the holy man entrusted with his message in Book I ever reappears. It is rather St. Denis, traditional patron saint of the kings of France, who appears at the end of the *Philippide* to announce that King Philip now reigned alongside Christ in heaven.[212]

While it is difficult to explain fully the eventual omission of Becket, if indeed the *Philippide* was completed during a later second period of composition between 1223 and

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[210] On John's guilt for Henry's death: *Phillipide*, Book III, ll. 742-746. The devil's fraud: *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 205-206. It is interesting to note that throughout the *Philippide*, William generally speaks in unusually laudatory terms about Richard, including on the occasion of his death. Apart from the suggestion that his death was caused by engaging in the pleasures of the flesh instead of listening to his doctors, William concerned himself more with pointing out the rightful claim of Arthur and the absolutely degraded nature of John than the faults of Richard. *Philippide*, Book V, ll. 599-627.

[211] On the punishment for John's allies after Bouvines, see *Philippide*, Book XII, ll. 70-79. On John's death, see *ibid.* ll. 294-309.

[212] *Philippide*, Book XII, ll. 624-6; 716-763.

1225, as suggested above, then perhaps the radical changes in the political landscape of France and England between the initial composition of the work and its eventual completion had made this original theme obsolete. When the work was ostensibly begun, circa 1214/5, John was still on the throne of England and Prince Louis was planning an invasion to replace him at the behest of a large contingent of the English nobles and church.[213] By 1223, when William returned to the *Philippide* to add the death of Philip and make his final corrections, Prince Louis had long since given up any hope of becoming king of England, John's son Henry was well established on the throne, and peace had been established between the two kings.[214] It also bears noting that Henry III was able to maintain a much better relationship with the church than any of his direct predecessors.[215] Thus by 1225, when William the Breton completed the *Philippide* in its final form, the author evidently no longer felt it necessary necessary to stress the elimination of the "race of patricides" and the avenging of Becket as Philip Augustus' *raisons d'être* and the theme which had played such a large role in the original conception and the early books of the epic was therefore abandoned.[216]

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[213] On Louis' invasion of England, see especially Baldwin, *Government*, 332-336. The only mention of Louis' expedition in the *Philippide* is Book XII, ll. 302-306, although William had covered it in detail in his *Chronicle*, Sections 214-223.

[214] Philip Augustus had signed a new peace treaty with Henry III in March of 1220 that extended until Easter of 1224. See Baldwin, *Government*, 339.

[215] On Henry III's relationship with the church and especially the protection afforded by the papacy during his long minority, see especially D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley, 1990) 13-14.

[216] John Baldwin says that the replacement of Becket with St. Denis at the end of the *Philippide* was "undoubtedly because the English saint lacked institutional support comparable to that of St. Denis." Baldwin, *Government*, 378. However, the "replacement" of Becket may also partially owe something to a renewed interest in the traditional patron saint of the kings of France. Philip himself demonstrated this in his testament where the king stipulated the donation of the crown jewels to the abbey of St. Denis upon his death in 1223. His son Louis would repurchase them all, save a cross which the abbey wanted to keep, in August of the same year for 11,600 livres. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 326-7, n.3. In fact, according to its obituaries, the abbey itself considered Philip second only to Dagobert (the abbey's reputed founder) as its greatest benefactor. Caroline Astrid Bruzelius, *The 13th-Century Church at St. Denis* (New Haven, CT, 1985) 11. Finally, it is not inconceivable that William was echoing a connection already created by Becket

The Audience of the *Philippide*:

The Becket Theme and the Writing of the *Philippide*

One lingering question remains about William the Breton's meta-theme—why the emphasis on Thomas Becket in the first place? By the time William began writing the *Philippide* circa 1215, Becket had been dead for at least forty-five years, and his "murderer" Henry II for over twenty-five.[217] Why did William the Breton decide that Thomas Becket was still relevant enough to cast as a major theme in his twelve book epic about the life and deeds of Philip Augustus?

There was actually a greater connection between Philip Augustus and Thomas Becket than perhaps even William the Breton was aware of. The saint and the king would have only met during Becket's exile in France when Philip was a mere child.[218] However, according to one of the archbishop's surviving letters, the young king-to-be had made quite an impression on him.[219] In an 1169 letter to Philip's uncle, William the Whitehands, then the archbishop of Sens, Thomas recounts a second hand tale about when Philip was brought to Henry II for the first time.[220] According to Thomas, after Henry quickly dismissed the young Philip, "God, however, inspired it into the mind of that chosen youth, that he opened his mouth, and to the surprise of the bystanders, warned his majesty to love France and its king and that would ensure him favor both before God

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himself when at his martyrdom he supposedly commended his spirit to God, Mary and St. Denis. See Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley, 1986) 179, 247.

[217] Thomas Becket died in December of 1170 and Henry II died in July of 1189.

[218] On Becket's exile in France, see especially Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 167-197.

[219] Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 194.

[220] J. A. Giles, *Life and Letters of Thomas a Becket* (London, 1846) 230.

and man."[221] Since William the Breton did not include the episode, either in the *Epitome* or the *Philippide*, we can imagine that he was unaware of it.

The next event connecting the saint and the king is, of course, Louis VII's pilgrimage to Becket's tomb in 1179, whose significance to the narrative arc of the *Philippide* has been discussed above.[222] While one can read a political dimension in Louis' pilgrimage to Canterbury to seek his old friend's aid in healing his son Philip, it bears noting that Louis VII had already begun to feel the effects of the paralysis that would eventually kill him and therefore took such a journey at great physical risk.[223] It is difficult to believe that any sovereign in Louis' condition, whose sole heir lay ill, would have taken a similar risk if he did not believe in its potential efficacy.[224] Furthermore, we might imagine that such a dramatic move left a lasting impact on his son. Again, we can never know what Philip later thought about the martyr's role in his own recovery. However, it is interesting to note that one of Philip's first acts as king was to renew his father's grant of wine to the monks of the Trinity of Canterbury, his only such grant to any English church.[225]

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[221] *Ibid.*
[222] See above, pp. 47-8.
[223] On Louis' pilgrimage, its political significance and Louis' health, see Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 39 and Baldwin, *Government*, 3; 6.
[224] Thomas Becket was canonized on 21 February 1173. Reports of miraculous healings at his tomb began just four days after his death and continued throughout the decade. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 265-9. Bradbury notes that Louis' councilors tried to dissuade from the pilgrimage, however he does not cite and source for this. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 39.
[225] Delisle, *Catalogue des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*, 1, Act 1. Philip reconfirmed a rent of 100 measures of wine to the monks of the Trinity of Canterbury, which Louis had given during his pilgrimage. Again, we might also read a political dimension in such a grant, in light of the ongoing struggle with the Angevins. There is an interesting article by Raymonde Foreville on the political afterlife of this grant, which remained in vigor well into the fifteenth century, in Raymonde Foreville, *Thomas Becket dans la tradition historique et hagiographique* (London, 1981) "Charles d'Orléans et le "vin de saint Thomas," XII, 22-32.

Another dimension we must consider in assessing the Becket theme in the *Philippide* is William the Breton's ecclesiastical and university education and his subsequent career in Philip's court.[226] As an ecclesiastic who grew up in the years following Becket's murder, William was already likely to trumpet the cause for which the archbishop had died. As a student of the University of Paris in the 1180s and a master in the 1190s, William studied under and taught alongside scholars such as Peter the Chanter, Robert Courson and Stephen Langton, who all continued to preach and lecture on the struggle and fate of Thomas Becket throughout that time and the French college made Thomas their patron saint.[227] Furthermore, William had contact with such influential men as William the Whitehands, who had been Thomas Becket's friend, correspondent and one of his staunchest supporters and remained influential at Philip's court until 1200.[228] Finally, John's conflict with the aforementioned Langton from 1208 until 1215 and the translation of the Becket's relics to a new shrine in 1220 undoubtedly kept the issue alive in the minds of both laymen and clerics alike.[229]

The question of the importance of Becket intersects with the larger question of William's audience. Who was the intended audience for the *Philippide*? William the Breton begins and ends his work with two separate lengthy dedications, to Philip's first

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[226] On William's career, see above, pp. 6-13.

[227] On William's studies, see above p. 7. On the importance of Becket in the schools of Paris, see especially Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Totowa, NJ, 1973). On the Chanter, Courson and Langton's opinions on Becket, see *ibid.*, 203-205 and John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton, NJ, 1970), v. II, 102 and v. I, 19-25. On Thomas as the patron saint of the French students at Paris, see Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 268.

[228] On William the Whitehands role at Philip's court, see Baldwin, *Government*, 32-3, 105-6. As a friend and supporter of Becket, see Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 178.

[229] On Stephen Langton, see especially F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1965), especially Chapter Four, "Custom and Opinion in England: The Dispute with Rome," 75-101. On the translation of the relics, the ceremony of dedication and the construction of the new shrine, see, for example, the lively passage in William Holden Hutton, *Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1926) 281-283.

son and heir to the throne, Louis VIII, and to Philip's third and final son, the royal bastard, Pierre Charlot, for whom William served as tutor.[230] We should probably imagine that William hoped for a larger audience than just the two dedicatees, especially considering that he spent five years of his life on the work.[231] He specifically said he had produced his *Epitome* of Rigord because the latter was not well known.[232] As such, the *Philippide* could be seen as a concomitant attempt to make the deeds of Philip better known.[233] However, if this was indeed part of his motivation for writing the text, from a stand point of diffusion, the initial success of the *Philippide* was limited, as the poem only survives in three manuscripts compared to eight manuscripts for both Rigord and William's own prose chronicle.[234] Nevertheless, as has been noted by Gabrielle Spiegel, it was the *Philippide* that served as the basis for the official account of the reign of Philip Augustus in the *Chronique des rois de France* and, perhaps to a lesser degree, in *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, which from the reign of St. Louis on became, in essence, the official history of the French monarchy.[235]

In the end, however, perhaps we do not need to look anywhere beyond William's own exhortations at the beginning and end of the poem. The *Philippide* was supposed to be, first and foremost, an exemplum for Louis VIII. Whereas Louis VII had, in

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[230] The opening dedications are translated below, pp. 67-71. The closing exhortations are published in Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 379-384 as *Philippide*, Book XII, ll. 804-916. For William's role as Pierre Charlot's tutor, see below, p. 70, n. 15.
[231] *Philippide*, Book XII, ll.927: "Annis scripta fui tribus, emendate duobus."
[232] See above, p. 10, n. 37.
[233] William's statements in his invocation to Apollo at the end of Book IX support this. *Philippide*, Book IX, ll. 727-757. This is translated above, pp. 21-2.
[234] Delaborde, *Etude,* 4-13.
[235] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 14; 284-5; 295-300. Spiegel says that one of the tasks faced by the anonymous translator of the *Chronique des rois de France* was "aiming [the work] at a public very different from the clerical and court circles to which Guillaume's learned and classicizing work was addressed." *Ibid.,* 295. This eventually inclusion in the *Chronique* may help explain why the *Philippide* survives in so few manuscripts.

William's opinion, only left Philip the royal honor and his example of piety, Philip could provide his son Louis VIII with a more complete example of how a king should behave.[236] For William the Breton, who of course had a vested interest in the issue, the fundamental duty of a king was to defend ecclesiastical liberty.[237] For this reason, the Angevins, whom William portrayed as the scourge of the clergy, constantly provided a negative foil and the Becket episode was the exemplum of improper royal interference *par excellence*. As a churchman, Becket could only fight Henry through legal measures. However, as a king, Philip was free and even expected to defend by force the ecclesiastical liberties for which St. Thomas had died. John Baldwin has argued that the *Philippide* is ultimately a poem about Bouvines—and so it is. But only in so far as Bouvines was the moment when Philip's lifelong duty of defending ecclesiastical liberties, epitomized in the struggle against the "race of Patricides" and "the murderers of Becket," was brought to a successful conclusion.[238] Ultimately, it was that success more than anything else that made Philip Augustus, in the eyes of William the Breton, "worthy of a worthy song."[239]

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[236] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 377-381: "Nam tenui censu fuerat pater, et nihil illi / A patre collatum fuerat, nisi sola potestas, / Ut quasi legitimus heres succederet ille; / Quippe pii prelarga manus genitoris in usus / Membrorum Christi fiscum vacuaverat ere."

[237] See above, p. 12, n. 49.

[238] My conclusions are actually quite similar to those of Professor Baldwin, the only real difference being one of emphasis. Baldwin had pointed out the role of Becket in the *Philippide* in his chapter on "Philip, the Realm, and the Emergence of Royal Ideology," (*Government*, 355-393) but suggested that the abandonment of the theme was "undoubtedly because the English saint lacked institutional support comparable to that of St. Denis." *Ibid.*, 378. I suggest that this opinion stems from a consistent undervaluing of William the Breton's efforts in creating a true epic as he recast the life of Philip Augustus in the *Philippide*.

[239] *Philippide*, "Dedication to Pierre Charlot," ll. 48-49: "Si modo te, fratresque tuos, magnumque parentem, / Ut potui, dignos celebravi carmine digno."

Manuscripts and Editions

The *Philippide* has come down to us in three contemporary or near contemporary manuscripts. They are preserved in London (British Library, Additional 21212), Paris (Latin 5952) and the Vatican (Christina 1383).

Of these, the best is that of London (British Library, Additional 21212) which, according to a note on the second page, was purchased in Paris on the 12 January 1856 by a certain Edwin Troys.[240] It measures 10.1 inches (25.9 cm) by 5.8 inches (15cm) and contains fifty parchment folios, which Delaborde dated to the thirteenth century, within a modern binding. The text is written in black ink on parchment, with decorative capital letters in black, red and green ink. Each page carries a single column, 7" high and 2.5" wide. Throughout the text there are some marginalia in a lighter brown ink, most of little interest, but which Pannenborg hypothesized may have been written by William himself. On the retro of folio 7 a blank was left for the genealogical tree promised by William in Book I, lines 217-8.[241] After this, starting from the verso of folio 8, the handwriting changes to a similar, but wider script with wider margins until the verso of folio 10, where it returns to the original smaller script and original margins.[242]

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[240] Pages one through four are modern and form a part of the modern binding, presumably done in the nineteenth century, concurrent with the purchase mentioned on page 2. Page four carries a lengthy description of the manuscript in French, where the well-informed anonymous author remarks that this manuscript is more complete than the one used by Pithou and Duchnese (presumably Paris) in their respective printings.

[241] Delaborde says that the Vatican manuscript includes "un informé tableau généalogique qui va seulement de Marcomir à Dagobert." Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, p. 15, n. 5.

[242] The margins for the text of all but these two pages are 1" inside, 2" outside, ¾" top and 2 ½" bottom. For Folios 8 and 9 they are ½" inside, 2" outside, ¾" top, and 2" bottom.

I found a few variations from the text printed by Delaborde and not noted in his *apparatus criticus*. The fourth word of line 62 of the "Dedication to Pierre Charlot" reads "*contempnat*" not "*contemnat*;" the second word of line 440 reads "*scobibus*" not "*scopibus*;" and the third word of line 606 reads "*instanter*" not "*instante*."[243] In all three cases I find the manuscript readings to be preferable to that of Delaborde. Finally, the second word of line 787 reads "*relatam*" not "*relatum*," which is the rejected reading noted by Delaborde in his apparatus.[244] Again, I have preferred the manuscript reading.

The second manuscript is that of Paris (Latin 5952), which Delaborde argued was a copy of London. Delaborde had nothing further to say on this manuscript, except that it lacks everything carried on the verso of London's Folio 80.[245] The front cover carries a description in Latin that says "this parchment manuscript once belonged to Antony Lancelot" and goes on to describe its contents.[246] It measures 10.5 inches (27cm) high by 8.25 (21cm) wide. The text is divided into two columns, each of which is 3" wide by 9" in height. There are 48 lines per column and therefore 96 lines per page. It is written in black ink, with fewer marginalia than London and a few corrections, all of which are in brown ink. Spaces have been left in several locations for large capital letters that were never drawn. No space was left after lines 217-8 for the promised genealogical tree. All of the variations from Delaborde's text that I noted for the London manuscript are present here as well.

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[243] In fact, at Book II, l. 329, Delaborde has properly printed "*instanter*." Therefore we can safely assume that this error was a mere misprint.
[244] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 38, n. 3. Delaborde preferred a reading of "*relativa*."
[245] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, "Notice," lxiv. This corresponds to Book X, ll. 518-560.
[246] It reads: "Codex membranaceus, olim Antonii Lancelot. Ibi continentur Philippidos libri duodecim; sive Guillelmi Britonis, Aremorici, carmen de rebus gestis Philippi Augusti, Adeodati, ad Ludovicum primogenitum. Is codex decimo quarto saeculo exaratus videtur."

The third manuscript is that of the Vatican (Christina, 1383). Delaborde hypothesized that because Paris is a copy of London, and because London and Paris contain better versions of the text, the Vatican manuscript must therefore represent a first redaction and London and Paris a second.[247] I have not seen the Rome manuscript and therefore cannot comment further.

The Latin text of the *Philippide* was printed often in the early modern period. Delaborde identified six different printings of the text between the first partial printing by Jacques Meyer in 1534 and his own edition, first printed in 1885.[248] Of these, all but one of which are now extremely rare and only two deserve mention here. The first is that of Caspar Barth, printed in 1656, which includes a lengthy introduction in Latin which explores many of the classical borrowings present in William's poem.[249] The second is the partial printing in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* by Albert Pannenborg, published in 1882.[250] In conjunction with the printing, Pannenborg wrote his learned *Zur Kritik der Philipis*, which has provided much useful assistance in questions of William's language and employ of classical Roman authors.[251] Delaborde's 1885 printing remains the only complete edition with an *apparatus criticus* based on all three surviving manuscripts, and is the one I have employed for this translation.

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[247] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, "Notice," lxvii. In his introduction, Delaborde presented a highly speculative and imaginative reconstruction of the publication of the *Philippide*. *Ibid.*, lxxi-lxxiii.
[248] Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, "Notice," lxiv-lxvii.
[249] Caspar Barth, *Gulielmi Britonis Aremorici Philippidos libri duodecim* (Cygneae, 1657).
[250] Albert Pannenborg, "Ex rerum Francogallicarum scriptoribus. Ex historiis auctorum Flandrensium Francogallica lingua scriptis," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover, 1882) Supplementum, v. XXIV, 319-389.
[251] See above, p. 2, n.5.

Principles of Translation

The following translation is a prose rendering of William the Breton's epic verse. While I am cognizant of the perils of such a practice, my main goal has been to make a significant portion of this fascinating and important text available to the English reader.[252] While I cannot hope to convey the level of skill and nuance contained in William's original hexameters, if my translation transmits at least some of the author's ability as a narrator, than I will feel that I have been successful.

I have already discussed some of the peculiarities of William the Breton's classicizing Latin above. In general, I have endeavored to stay as faithful to Latin as possible while maintaining readability, indicating any particularities of the language in footnotes. It has occasionally been necessary to add some text in order to make William's poetic sentences into readable prose. All such additions have been included in brackets []. I have confined all explanations of circumstances and issues of historical interest to footnotes and I often refer the reader back to this introduction.

One notable aspect of William's writing not discussed above is that he frequently switches tenses in a manner that would be extremely jarring to a modern reader. Most notably, he often uses the historical present when trying to convey a heightening of the

[252] In the "Introduction" to his laudable prose translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, David West cited The *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* (19 (1988) 14) as saying "to translate poetry into prose is always a folly." Like Dr. West, I admit that I am no poet and I also know very few people who read long narrative poems in English, outside of classroom assignments. However, since I also feel that the *Philippide* deserves to be read, I only hope that this rendering will invite specialists to take a closer look at William's Latin original and perhaps introduce non-specialists to an important source for the history of the late twelfth and early thirteenth-centuries and to the idea that the genre of epic survived during the nearly thirteen centuries the between Virgil and Dante. Virgil, *The Aeneid: A New Prose Translation*, trans. David West (London, 1990) xi.

action, such as at the set piece scene of the siege toward the end of the first book.[253] Furthermore, William frequently employs tenses such as the past perfect in a manner that does not accord with modern English usage. I therefore have generally allowed myself the freedom to convert these to a more natural English tense without comment.

Concerning personal and place names, William almost invariably uses the classical versions of both personal and place names, so, Louis is Ludovicus and Champeaux is Campellos. In general, the personal names have not caused me great difficulties and I have usually chosen the name that I felt would be most familiar to Anglophone readers. Therefore, Guillelmus is always William and Philippus is always Philip. When an English version of a name was not readily apparent, I have used the French equivalent, rather than the original Latin, except where noted. However, William's place names did occasionally present problems since certain names, such as Castellum, are very common and therefore direct identification is not always simple. Contrarily, other names, such as Quisiam (Cuise), are rather rare and therefore I have sometimes had to rely on Guizot's identifications, although not without certain reservations.[254]

While I have made my own paragraph breaks for the ease of modern reading, I have inserted line numbers in brackets [] which follow the Latin line numbers of Delaborde's edition, so that the interested reader can easily compare my translation to the original Latin. It should be noted that Delaborde's paragraph breaks in the Latin do not always match those of either the London or Paris manuscripts.

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[253] *Philippide*, Book I, ll. 531-697. Below, pp. 97-106.
[254] See, for example, below p. 97, n. 113, where Guizot has obviously mistakenly identified Châtillon-sur-Loire as Châtillon-sur-Cher.

Finally, it bears mentioning that my translation often differs from the interpretations of Guizot's French translation. Most of these variations are relatively minor, however, it is clear that Guizot took certain liberties with the text and occasionally added and omitted words and phrases without explanation.[255] These liberties led Octave Delepierre to provide a new French translation in 1841 for those sections which related to the history of Flanders.[256] However, Delepierre's translation includes nothing from Book I. As far as I am aware, the only other existing English translation of any sizable section of the *Philippide* is that of Catherine Tihanyi in the "Documents" appendix of the English edition of Georges Duby's *The Legend of Bouvines*.[257] However, Tihanyi translated from the French and not the original Latin, and those sections which she translated do not contain anything from Book I.[258]

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[255] For example, just in the opening lines of the "Dedication to Louis," Guizot says "father to you and you prince *to France*," and "If it was allowed for each *pagan* poet," although neither of these interpretations are supported by the Latin.
[256] See above, p. 1, n. 2.
[257] Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines*, 194-205.
[258] *Ibid.*, 205, "Translator's note."

William the Breton

Book I of the *Philippide*

To Louis, first-born son of magnanimous Philip, "given-from-God", King of the Franks, William the Breton, of Brittany, offers salutations.[1]

[Dedication to Louis - Lines 1-41]

In praise of you, Louis, and of great Philip, who was father to you and you prince to him, France rejoices.[2] The Muse offers me cups with Castalian liquor and fills my heart with Phoeban inspiration so that I might undertake producing the same theme in greater length.[3] And even if my genius should judge itself unequal to the task, I do not, however, seek to change my mind, but rather I presume to excuse my bold undertaking with such a pretext: if it was permitted for you, Walter, to describe in epic verse the deeds of the general of Macedon, which only the bellow of second hand tales and wide-

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[1] The poem is dedicated first to Louis VIII, son of Philip Augustus. "Given from God" was one of Philip Augustus' many epithets, so named because his father Louis VII had previously sired only daughters and, by the time of Philip's birth in 1165, Louis VII was already 45 years old and anxiety about an heir had become intense. William alludes to this anxiety and puts it in the king's own mouth during Louis' prayer to Thomas Becket at ll. 317-319 (p. 88 below). The theme of Louis' anxiety had been developed in greater depth first in Rigord (1) where the monk of St. Denis also records the purported words of Louis' prayer for a son, and in an abbreviated form in William's *Epitome* 11 (Appendix I below, p. 119). All references to Rigord's text and William the Breton's *Epitome* thereof refer to the section numbers in Delaborde's edition.

[2] Louis VIII was the first born son of Philip Augustus and Philip's first wife Isabelle of Hainault. Louis was born 5 September 1187 and reigned from the death of his father on 14 July 1223 until his own unexpected death on 8 November 1226. The most recent complete biography of Louis is Gerard Sivéry, *Louis VIII, le Lion* (Paris, 1995), which is not without merit, but it did not replace Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis* VIII (Paris, 1894), which still remains the best complete study.

[3] As noted in the Introduction, scholars have unanimously taken this statement to mean that the *Philippide* is simply a longer, versified version of William's *Epitome* and *Chronicle*. However, as I have argued in the Introduction, the work represents much more than a mere versification and elaboration of his previous works, and to be precise, he only says that the *theuma* "theme" (i.e. the life and deeds of Philip) is the same. The line is adapted from Ovid, *Amores*, Book I, 15, ll. 35-6, which reads: "...mihi flavus Apollo; / pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua."

ranging reports taught you;[4] if it was allowed for each national poet to boast his own people's lies with a grand sounding shout;[5] if I did not think it was a fault for you, Peter Riga, to suggest the hidden meanings from the fertile Law, which you made in such a way that Elegy could sing it with light words, constricting the brave deeds of man into a quicker meter—a story which would have been better told in hexameters;[6] then why would I not dare to write great things—things which I know and which I have seen with my own eyes[7]—about a great king, who is not less than Alexander in virtue, nor less than he who subdued the whole earth to the city of Romulus.[8] The favor of the church and the defense of the clergy prove this. The church smiles under that famous prince and enjoys freedom, the friend of peace, and subdues all its enemies.[9] The Macedonian had twelve

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[4] The reference is to Walter of Châtillon and his ten book epic, the *Alexandreis*, written ca. 1175. On Walter's *Alexandreis* and its relationship with the *Philippide*, see the Introduction, above, pp. 17-31.

[5] It is unclear to whom he refers here, however, as we shall see, when William talks about "other" nations, he generally means the Greeks and the Romans, as opposed to the Franks. If so, we may imagine that he was obliquely referring to Virgil's *Aeneid* and Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, though without further context, this can only be conjecture. William's great reverence for Virgil may seem to make this unlikely. However, this esteem may also be the reason William refrains from naming Virgil outright. On the significance of this particular pretext, see the Introduction, above, pp. 25-27.

[6] William says literally, "Maeonian meter," which is dactylic hexameter, the meter of epic verse, of Homer and Virgil and, most importantly, the one used here by William the Breton. Peter Riga (ca. 1140-1209) was a canon of the cathedral of Reims and his poetic paraphrase of the Bible, the *Aurora*, (first published sometime before 1200) was one of the most influential books of the later Middle Ages. This work has been edited and published as Peter Riga, *Aurora, Biblia Versificata*, ed. Paul E Beichner, (South Bend, IN, 1965). On Peter Riga's life and writings, see *ibid.*, xi-xvii. Beichner (xix) notes that in the third redaction of the *Aurora*, William the Breton's friend Giles of Paris added the "Acts of the Apostles" written in rhyming hexameter. On Giles of Paris and his relationship with William the Breton, see the Introduction, above, p. 7.

[7] The importance of eyewitness testimony to medieval writers has its roots especially in the writings of the sixth-century writer Isidore of Seville. Isidore's *Etymologiae* has recently been translated into English in its entirety for the first time as *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, (Cambridge, 2006). On the importance of the writings of Isidore to William the Breton, see the Introduction, above, p. 37.

[8] The references are to Alexander the Great, the subject of Walter of Châtillon's aforementioned *Alexandreis*, and Julius Caesar.

[9] The meaning here is unclear. It may refer to the successes of the church in suppressing heresy under Philip. Especially relevant would be the role of one of the dedicatees, Louis VIII, in the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathar heretics in the south of France. Louis VIII, much more so than Philip Augustus, was very pro-active in that crusade at precisely the time that William presumably began writing. On the respective roles of Philip and Louis VIII in the Albigensian crusade, see Baldwin, *Government*, 336-339.

years and Julius Caesar barely earned sixteen years to carry out celebrated victories.[10] Whereas, the vigorous virtue of Karolide[11] had 32 continuous years for conquering enemies, up to the moment when he defeated Otto and the Germans and the English and the Flemish—all of whom he utterly crushed in one battle at Bouvines.[12] Therefore, you who expect to succeed so great a king as firstborn son, as heir of hereditary blood, you worthy to be honored worthily with worthy honor,[13] may you wish to raise up your praises of that man and by presenting yourself as lord and patron of this book which sings the marvelous deeds of your father and of you. It is inscribed with the name of Philip, so that greater reverence for the book may arise from this title and so that it may dare, under such a name, to go more safely into publication and fear less to be wounded by spite.[14]

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[10] On the dating of the "years of triumph" for Julius Caesar, William presumably counts inclusively from 59 BC, when Caesar first took command in Gaul to his death in 44 BC. The dating for Alexander would seem to ignore his subduing of the short lived uprisings in Greece that followed the death of Philip of Macedon in 335BC and his defensive operations in the Balkans and instead begin with Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont in 334 BC and count inclusively until his death in 323 BC. Interestingly, Walter of Châtillon devoted a large section of Book I of his *Alexandreis* to the Greek revolts that William the Breton has ignored here.

[11] Here "Karolide" is to be understood as another nickname for Philip, a patronymic meaning "descendent of Charlemagne" which makes explicit his Carolingian connections and therefore both his rightful kingship and his glory. On the subject of Philip's Carolingian connections and their significance at Philip's court, see the article by Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni: A New Look," *French Historical Studies*, 7 (1971) 145-174. It should also be recalled here that William the Breton tells us that he was the author of another epic poem, the *Karolide*, unfortunately lost, which he also dedicated to Philip's illegitimate son Pierre Charlot, recipient of the second dedication of the present work. See below, pp. 70-71and the Introduction, p. 10 and p. 10, n. 40.

[12] The Battle of Bouvines took place on 27 July 1214. Delaborde, (*Œuvres,* v. II, 3) reported that William must have erred in his calculation. Basically, it is difficult to see how William has arrived at 32 years for Philip's conquests, seeing as the Battle of Bouvines took place in 1214 and Philip's reign began either in 1179 when he was first crowned or 1180 when his father Louis died and his first recorded victory occurred in 1181 at the latest. Either way, it means a reign to that point of at least 34 years. The 32 years offered seems to be merely a poetic device to double the reign of Caesar and nearly triple that of Alexander. It should be remembered that in the *Philippide* William intentionally reorders much of the chronology of events and is often rather vague with dates, as described in the Introduction, above p. 45.

[13] I have intentionally preserved the sound of William's exaggerated polyptoton, the repetition of a common root word in varying inflections. On William's poetry, vocabulary and his use of polyptotons, see the Introduction, above, pp. 32-35.

[14] William seems to be concerned about the reception of his poem, which is not surprising considering the criticisms he levels on his fellow poets Peter Riga and Walter of Châtillon. Similar sentiments abound in the contemporary literature. For example, Walter of Châtillon begins his *Alexandreis* with the following prologue: "When anything new is recited in the ears of the multitude, the mob as a matter of time-

To Pierre Charlot, son of Philip, King of the Franks, salutations.

[Dedication - Lines 42-62]

And come also as patron, Charlot, most similar offspring of the magnanimous king to whom Mother Nature, in order to prove your regal birth with unquestionable signs, made you similar in vigor of body and mind.[15] You already follow in his footsteps and even at such a tender age you already imitate his morals and deeds.[16] I hope that, as much as I have been able, I have properly celebrated you and your brothers and your great father—all worthy of a worthy song. And I have dedicated to you, with the virtue of my whole spirit, the little book drawn from a feeble source and I have given it the name, Karolide, in your honor, so that praise of you may live on forever in the mouth of the reader and so that your virtue will not know death even after your end, and the enduring fame of the race of Charles may live on.[17] This fame only poets can save from the urns, since poets, through their writings, make the young remember the old—a fame

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honoured custom breaks up into various passions. One applauds and proclaims that what he's heard is praiseworthy. Another, led on by his ignorance, or else perverted by the goad of malice or hatred's tinder, judges harshly even what is well spoken and so deems that well-turned verses must be returned to the anvil. ... Long fearing this, I intended to suppress you forever, O my *Alexandreis*, and either to destroy outright a work of five years' labor, or at least to bury it in obscurity as long as I lived." Walter of Châtillon, *The Alexandreis*, trans. David Townsend, "Prologue," 29.

[15] Pierre Charlot (ca. 1205/9 – 1249) was Philip's third son and only acknowledged royal bastard, the son of a certain "damsel of Arras." Philip appointed William the Breton to be Charlot's tutor ca. 1220. Baldwin, *Government*, 518, n. 62. Pope Honorius III had already given Charlot a papal dispensation before the final publication of the *Philippide*, William nevertheless goes out of his way to point out his "legitimacy." On Honorius' dispensation for Charlot, see *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste*, v. IV, Ed. H. F. Delaborde, Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, J. Boussard, and M. Nortier, (Paris, 1979) no. 1483.

[16] At the time of publication of the final version of the *Philippide*, (between 1223-6) Charlot would have likely been between 14 and 21 years old. In the Paris Manuscript (P) of the *Philippide*, William employed an almost identical formula "*tenero que gessit ab evo*" (*Propositio*, l. 2) to refer to Philip at age fourteen as the one used here for Charlot: "*in evo... tam tenero mores jam nunc imitaris et actus*" (*Dedicatio*, ll. 46-7). This fact, combined with the employ of the adverb *iam*, "already," the present tense verb "*imitaris*," "you imitate," and William the Breton's stated role as tutor, suggest an age toward the lower end of the spectrum offered above and, in my opinion, makes 1209 the most likely date of birth for William's *élève*.

[17] The reference here is to the descendents of Charlemagne. William the Breton and the other authors of Philip's court went to some length to point out the Carolingian lineage of Philip and his children. See n. 11 above.

which dies only when the songs of poets die. And so, you too, shine upon this book with the propitious star of your celestial countenance and give it welcome favor so that it may flourish through you, and so with you as its patron it may openly contemn the cynical teachers of error.[18]

[18] William's statement is curious, because as opposed to most of his medieval contemporaries, his conception of the cynics may have been informed, but certainly was not dictated by Isidore of Seville's description in the *Etymologiae*, (Book VIII, vi, 14) or Augustine's condemnation of the Cynics for their lack of "*verecundia*," (modesty) (*City of God*, 19.I.1-2), as it is clear that William is referring to a mode of thought and judgment, not merely behavior. See Daniel Kinney, "Heirs of the Dog: Cynic Selfhood in Medieval and Renaissance Culture," in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, eds. (Berkeley, 1996) 294-328. It is also interesting to note that the tutor is asking his student to be his patron here.

Catalogue of Materials of the First Book[19]

-Philip is first distinguished with the royal honor;[20]

-A new law exiles the Jews and punishes blasphemers;[21]

-A brief flame sends heretics to the continual flames of hell;[22]

-Philip cleans Champeaux and bestows high walls on it;[23]

-The enemies of the church are subdued, and in his first battle each city of Châtillon yields to the victorious king[24] and seven thousand of the Cotereaux are killed,[25]

-A fiery furnace burns alive all the Jews of Brie.[26]

-Responding to the church of Reims with an eloquent speech, the king renders deeds for deeds and words for words.[27]

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[19] It bears noting that William does not include in the "Catalogue of Materials" his "Invocation to the Muses," his "Invocation for Divine Aid," his lengthy preamble "On the Origin of the Franks" or the failed attempt to crown Philip in August of 1179 and Louis VII's subsequent pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas Becket, which make up the first 336 lines of Book I.

[20] Philip was first crowned by his maternal uncle, William the Archbishop of Reims (1135-1202) in that city on All Saints Day, 1 November, 1179. The event is also recorded in Rigord, 4, and in the briefest manner in William's *Epitome*, 16, (below, p. 121).

[21] This same law against blasphemers is recorded at Rigord, 5, and William, *Epitome*, 22, (below, pp. 122-3). On Philip's legislation against the Jews in this period, see especially William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia, 1989) 3-37.

[22] This seems to be the event recorded under "*Incidentia*" at Rigord, 22 where Philip's uncle, William the Whitehands of Reims, burns an unspecified number of heretics in Flanders in 1183. William the Breton did not record the event in his *Epitome* of Rigord and here has changed the protagonist to Philip, presumably in order to give "credit" for the act to Philip.

[23] In Rigord, the establishment of the Les Halles market (Rigord, 20) and the walling of the Les Innocents cemetery (Rigord, 47) at Champeaux are two separate events which occur several years apart, in 1183 and (presumably) 1187, respectively. However, in *Epitome*, 34, (p. 125 below) William specifically added the date 1186 to his paraphrase of the analogous section of Rigord. He also added an explanation that Philip had walled the cemetery "because of the warning of an old widow who said that this had been revealed to her in a vision." The significance of these early deeds is discussed in Baldwin, *Government*, 345.

[24] Châtillon-sur-Loire and Châtillon-sur-Seine. These are, in fact, two completely separate campaigns which occurred in 1181 and 1187, respectively, and are recorded by Rigord at chapters 9 and 32-35.

[25] Rigord, 23-4 places this event in 1183. On the Cotereaux, see below, pp. 107-8, n. 152.

[26] See especially Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, 35-37. Both Rigord and William in his *Epitome* record this event as having taken place after Philip's return from the Third Crusade in 1192, and hence long after all of the other events recounted in Book I. Rigord, 84; *Epitome*, 63.

The First Book of the *Philippide* of William the Breton

Proposition

[Lines 1-20]

I will try to tell briefly, in a truthful song, the battles and glorious deeds of great Philip, which he conducted with a hand mighty in arms even in his tender years.[28] I wish to relate a few among his many great deeds, for who would be able to recount all things to the letter, or confine them to a meter, or commit them to paper, or hold them with an unforgetting heart?

The muse of the theologian Virgil,[29] who carried the ashes of Troy to the stars, would not have been unworthy for these deeds, nor he who related the story of Troy given over to the victorious Argives and celebrated worthily the wanderings of errant Odysseus.[30] However, neither Lucan,[31] lover of fame, nor he who wrote the *Thebaid* in such a learned poem would have sufficed for these.[32] For neither of them would be able to describe fully, with a worthy tale, so many enemies conquered, so many wars, so many

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[27] This is the strange concluding scene of book one, where William is uncharacteristically vague, with no dates, names or places given. See below, pp. 109-110.

[28] Philip was crowned at age 14. William employed a similar expression of youth to describe Pierre Charlot in his dedication to the king's son. See n. 16 above. On the significance of this sentence to the *Philippide* as a whole, see the Introduction, above, p. 40, n. 159.

[29] On the importance of Virgil to William the Breton, see the Introduction, pp. 15-32 above.

[30] William undoubtedly refers to Homer and the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. These books often referred to the Greeks in general as the "Argives." Delaborde (*Œuvres*, v. II, 7, n. 3) inexplicably questions this identification already made, as he recorded, by Caspar Barth and Dom Brial.

[31] Lucan (39-65 AD) was a Roman poet from Cordoba, in modern Spain and author of the *Pharsalia* (*De Bello Civile*), an epic poem recounting Julius Caesar's victory over Pompey the Great. William the Breton refers to him on more than one occasion and the influence of his works has been traced by Pannenborg, *Der Philipis*, 17-19. See the Introduction, above, p. 23.

[32] Statius (ca. 45 – ca. 96 AD) was a Silver Age Roman poet, author of the *Thebaid,* an epic poem about the "Seven against Thebes," the mythological battle of the sons of Oedipus for the throne of the Greek city of Thebes. This work enjoyed constant popularity throughout the Middle Ages. Like Lucan, William the Breton refers to Statius on more than one occasion. See the Introduction, above, p. 23.

sieges, so many domestic deeds well done, and so many noble feats of arms. There is no one who could exhaust a well so wide and so deep, much less does anyone have a rope strong enough to draw up a vessel capable of taking in such a weight. A part, such as it is, shall be the whole for me. And so, I say "farewell" to the whole—I hardly dare touch a part of it.

[Lines 21-37]

Therefore, come, O Muse, and be eager to toil[33] willingly for the honor of so excellent a man, and begin from the year in which the new king first shined forth with the ivory scepter. Let this be the starting point for your new song. Next, describe the triumphs by which France under Philip has earned the right to rule, by which army he subjugated the necks of the Normans to the French people when he routed the English king.[34] Following the story you should proceed in proper order, choosing safe shores so as not to sink into the deep.

As such, therefore, first recall the origin of the French race: who the source of so great a name was and from which region the Franks were pushed into these parts. For you know whatever may be, whatever should be known, before it is allowed to be known, and everything that he has done. Make sure that you allow me to know the sea upon

[33] Literally *insudare*, "to sweat."

[34] Because William employs the phrase *Anglorum rege fugato* ("with the king of the English having been routed"), this would seem to refer not to Bouvines, but rather to Philip's Norman victories of 1203-4, since previously in the dedication when he explicitly mentions Bouvines ("Dedication to Louis," ll. 30-1), William names only Otto who, unlike John, was physically present at the battle.

which I set sail, so that what follows may be traversed with an easier course. For a method should be observed in all things, and order.[35]

Invocation for Divine Aid

[Lines 38-54]

O Christ, splendor of God, virtue, wisdom, the Word, you who, eternal, proceed from the mouth of the eternal Father, you who are truly the Word, light from true light and true God from true God, one and the same and coeternal with the Father and with the Holy Spirit.[36] As I begin, I pray to you: may your grace be present, may it assist me and may it lead me through the thicket of the woods with an unhindered foot, so that the sharpness of my mind be not clouded, my mind which, without you, would not know where to go. Without you, nothing shines, without you, no path opens. You, light of the eastern star, dissipate the clouds of my mind with a celestial ray, and make my meaning shine with a heavenly light. Teach my hand to write, and my tongue to dictate.[37] Guide me along the proper path, lend me ready strength for my song, for You are the path, You are the guide, You are the ship, You are my Palinurus.[38] Make my passage through the rough seas safe for me.

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[35] As noted by Delaborde, (*Œuvres*, p. 8), this is an adaptation of Horace, *Satires* I, ll. 106-7: "est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, / quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum." William's preoccupation with the "order" of his work is discussed in the Introduction, pp. 45-54. On the recurring sailing metaphor, see the introduction, pp. 29-31.

[36] The opening of this invocation intentionally recalls the formulas of the Nicene Creed.

[37] These lines recall some of the Latin formulations in the Psalms of Jerome's *Vulgate*, although no one particular Psalm is directly quoted.

[38] In the *Aeneid*, Palinurus was the helmsmen of Aeneas' ship, overcome by the magic of Somnus (sleep, in divine form) and washed ashore in Lucania (modern day Basilicata, Italy) where the local Lucani killed him. Despite what may appear to be an implied criticism, i.e. falling asleep while on duty, Palinurus

On the Origin of the Franks[39]

[Lines 55-97]

After the wrath of a vengeful god, by a secret judgment, gave the realm of Priam over to the fire of the Greeks, this same god imparted the penalty to sinners through sinners.[40] Thus he used beneficially the disgraces of those men, whom he knows are still worthy to be soiled for a long time by the crime. With his father dead and buried, Francio, sown by Hector, son of Priam, abhorring the enormous arrogance of the Greeks, and with Troy overthrown and all Asia in ashes, resigned himself to seeking a more suitable homeland—whichever homeland the fates would give to him, acquired either by chance or by arms. A band of chosen youths joined themselves to him so they could be comrades in his exile and allies of his labor.[41]

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became famous as the ideal captain, because after facing considerable resistance, Somnus had to resort to magic. Aeneas later meets Palinurus in the underworld among the wandering souls who did not receive proper burial. *Aeneid*, Book III, l. 202; Book V, ll. 815, 858; Book VI, l. 381. On the significance of Palinurus in this passage, see the Introduction, above, pp. 30-1.

[39] For all of what follows, the interested reader should cross reference with the analogous sections in Rigord (37-39) and William's *Epitome* (2-12, below, pp. 113-119). See also Baldwin, *Government*, 372-4 and especially the lengthy note (72) on pp. 575-6 for further reading on this fascinating and complicated element of Frankish historiography. As Baldwin noted (*ibid.*), a complete investigation of the various versions of the Frankish legends which circulated at the Capetian court remains a desideratum.

[40] William refers, of course, to the story of the Trojan War. The "vengeful god" is presumably Juno who, especially in the Romanized version of the story in Virgil's *Aeneid*, which undoubtedly was the version most familiar to William the Breton, is the principal adversary of the Trojans. Noteworthy is the near conflation of the pagan gods of the Homeric story with the Christian God. Also interesting is the palpable anti-Byzantine sentiment. The conquest of Constantinople by the mostly French army of the Fourth Crusade had exacerbated preexisting antipathy for the Greeks in the West. On Frankish-Greek relations at the turn of the thirteenth-century, see especially Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd Edition (Philadelphia, 1997) 135-6; 140-1.

[41] William's elaborated version of Francio's wanderings deliberately echoes the journey of Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Francio, like Aeneas, is a member of the royal house of Troy who leads a band of Trojans to seek a new home wherever the fates might take him.

Because honor and many victories came to them through his great nobility and deeds, they made Francio their king and crowned him with the diadem and they called themselves by the common name "Franks". They were called Franks, of whom Francio was ruler, so that they would be imitators of their ruler in name and deed.[42] They, with their king, crossed the river Danube on rafts, since it could not be swum, and not far from this river they founded a city called Sicambria.[43] Here Francio first reigned with his Franks and he subjected the entire surrounding region to his rule.[44]

The tribe of the Franks occupied Austrasia, which has the idiomatic name Teutonic, for a long time—from 1122 years before the Blessed Virgin gave birth to Christ until after the birth of God 376 [AD].[45] In the time after Francio was deprived of vital breath, this noble race grew immense. Indeed, it had so multiplied both in number and exceptional strength, that one kingdom was no longer spacious enough for them.

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[42] The name of the Franks (*Franci* in Latin) was the source of many puns and false etymologies throughout the Middle Ages. Here William plays on the meaning of the Medieval Latin adjective *francus* meaning "free," which is widely attested from the eleventh century on. See the *Medieval Latin Word-List From British and Irish Sources*, eds. J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson, (London, 1934), "*francus*," 182. The anonymous author of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* had suggested nearly five centuries earlier that the name came from a Greek word meaning "fierce." *Liber Historiae Francorum*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach (Lawrence, Kansas, 1973) 24.

[43] The story of the Franks settling at Sicambria along the Tanais (the modern Don river) first appears in Book I of the anonymous *Liber Historiae Francorum*, where the author elaborated the earlier assertion of Fredegar that the Franks were descendents of the Trojans. *Liber Historiae Francorum*, p. 19. However, this identification was already alluded to in Gregory of Tours, when at the baptism of Clovis, Saint Remy called the king "Sicamber." Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London, 1974), Book II, 31, p. 144. William the Breton's account generally follows that of Rigord, who in turn had followed the *Liber Historiae Francorum* for the early history, albeit with some significant alterations.

[44] Here I have omitted an extra *fundo*, "foundation," an alliteration typical of William the Breton that does not render well in English.

[45] The *Liber Historiae Francorum* left a large chronological gap, moving immediately from the fall of Troy to the reign of Valentinian I, a span of approximately 1,500 years. William the Breton, following Rigord, resolved the large gap in chronology by inserting the phrase "Francio and those descended from him ruled Sicambria and in the surrounding lands for 1,507 years," (Rigord, 38; *Epitome*, 4, below, Appendix I, pp. 114-5). Here William has slightly changed the number of years to 1498 and has provided an exact date for the fall of Troy.

Therefore, Ibor[46] and a numerous band of Franks broke off from them, 3000 in number joined by two times 10,000, not including the throng of women and those who were unable to bear arms.[47] Having left their ancestral lands, through the fields of Gaul they sought a suitable home where they could place their walls. They called themselves by the Greek name "Parisi", which means "courage," translated into our words.[48] They went away from the Franks, from whom they wished to distance themselves in name alone for the sake of avoiding confusion.[49]

[Lines 97-152]

Soon a city more beautiful than all others was growing on the shore of the Seine—the merits of which it is denied to me to point out by the brevity of my poem.[50] The city is head of the kingdom, nurtures the great offspring of kings, and exists as teacher of the whole world.[51] Although truly no place in all the world outshines her now, at that time a swamp and the wetness of the ground made it muddy, so the Parisi gave it the apt name "Lutetia."[52] In this city, the Parisi stayed, carrying on in a simple life for many generations, ruling their own people for themselves and by their native customs,

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[46] I have not been able to uncover Rigord's source for this element of the story. Interestingly, Rigord had called him "Ibor," (Rigord, 38) while in his *Epitome* of Rigord, William the Breton rendered the name "Hybor," (*Epitome*, 3). However, here in the *Philippide*, William has changed the name back to "Ibor."

[47] This manner of counting the Franks, where the women and children are omitted, has its antecedent in the census of the Israelites by Moses in the *Old Testament*, "Book of Numbers," I, 3-4.

[48] This seems to be yet another false etymology as I have not been able to uncover any such Greek word.

[49] The sense of this somewhat convoluted sentence is that this new group would continue to be Franks in all but name, continuing to share their good qualities.

[50] The city is Paris, first called "Lutetia."

[51] The reference to "nurturing the great offspring of kings," is, of course, a subtle nod to the two dedicatees, Louis VIII and Pierre Charlot. The third reference is to the University of Paris, which was widely recognized as the world's foremost school of theology and where William himself had studied. See Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages*, 42-46.

[52] The name of *Lutetia* was first recorded by Julius Caesar in his *De Bello Gallico* (Book VII, chapters 57-58). The name seems to be related to an Indo-European root meaning "mud", reflecting the marshy surroundings, or directly from the Latin *lutum*, "mud."

rendering the requisite tribute every year to the Romans, and following their ancestral laws.

But after Valentinian, there was no strength to overcome the Franks, even though he had tried many times to subject them to the Roman Empire by arms.[53] When he saw them unconquered and not subdued in any battle, he said, "Those men I will truly call Franks, or better Ferancos, whose virtue has made them ferocious with untamed ferocity."[54] At that time, the Austrasian King Priam ruled over all these.[55] When Priam had paid his debt to nature, his son Marcomirus, who succeeded him, held the kingdom of the Franks, surpassing his father in nobility.[56] At last, Valentinian wrote these words to them: "For ten years, France, I release you from tribute and I make you my friend under the bond of peace, if you will furnish me with an army, until we overcome Alanus,[57] who presents himself as an enemy to the Romans, and presumes to repel our yoke from his neck. The madness of an armed people accustomed to pillaging offers them so much courage, as does the sight of the rugged slopes of the hills of their haunts, in the mountains and cliffs, impenetrable for any enemy." Marcomirus rejoiced at these words,

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[53] The Roman Emperor Valentinian I died in 375 AD.

[54] Obviously, the pun which substitutes *ferancos* "savage," a Medieval Latin adjective from the Classical Latin *fera* "wild beast," for *Francos*, does not work in English.

[55] This is not the Trojan king of the Homeric stories, but allegedly a descendent thereof who carried the same name.

[56] Marcomirus appears as one of three "leaders" of the Franks in Gregory of Tours, (Book II, 9) but both references to him appear in quotations of the lost *Historia* of Sulpicius Alexander. Furthermore, Gregory lamented that Sulpicius did not specify if these men were actually kings or not, calling them simply "regales," to which Gregory wrote "it is not clear if they were kings or if they merely exercised a kingly function." Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, Book II, 9, p. 120.

[57] The use of the proper name "Alanus" here stands for the Germanic tribe of the Alani or Alans. The use of the proper name may suggest that William the Breton was familiar with Breton traditions surrounding a mythical Alanus, a descendent of Noah's son Japhet, who served as a forefather to all the various peoples of Europe, including the Romans and the Franks, as notably contained in the *Historia Brittonum*, traditionally ascribed to Nennius. See Bernard S. Bachrach, *History of the Alans* (Minneapolis, 1973) 81-85.

and the citizens of France acceded to this proposal.[58] They joined in battle with the Alans, and thus they raged against them in a cruel slaughter, so that not one of them out of the entire number remained who was not decapitated by a Frankish soldier or compelled to suffer the various torments of death, except for those whom nature prevented from fighting.[59] This deed seemed miraculous to all and praise of the Franks was spread throughout the whole world. Therefore, when the ten years were over, Rome again demanded tribute from the Franks. The Franks, having bought for themselves liberty with their blood, said with a fierce heart, that they would rather suffer exile and withdraw from their entire homeland than to be subjected again to the harsh law of tribute to Rome.

And while after the death of Valentinian the Roman Empire[60] was crippled, the Franks spread out from their lands and conquered the Germans and Teutons, and also the Alemanni, the Thuringians and the Belgae, the Saxons, and the Lotharingians in a mighty battle, as well as every other people that lay across the fields of Gaul all the way up to the river Seine. No duke, nor count, nor king was allowed live who did not yield voluntarily to the might of the Franks.[61]

[Lines 153-178]

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[58] William uses the Classical Latin word "*quirites*" here for "citizens." The word is unusual in Medieval Latin, but was often used in the Classical authors. It derives from Quirinus, originally the god of the Quirinal hill and later a name associated with the deified Romulus.

[59] There is only one known historical battle between the Franks and the Alans, which took place along the Rhine frontier in northeast Gaul in 406 AD. However, since the Alans, not the Franks, were victorious in this engagement, Frankish writers either ignored the battle, as did Fredegar, or turned it into a Frankish victory, as did the anonymous author of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. Bachrach, *History of the Alans*, p. 84.

[60] William actually says, not incorrectly, "republic," as the Romans continued to refer to their empire as the *res publica* for centuries after the establishment of the principate by Augustus.

[61] The names of the tribes given here seem to reflect the thirteenth-century political geography of France as much as that of late antiquity. This is emphasized by the conflation of late Roman military and medieval political designations of *dux* "general/duke," and *comes* "comrade, soldier/count."

After this, however, the Franks learned that the Parisi were born from the same stock from which they themselves had descended, and the Frankish army made friends with them by means of a strong peace. They called them brothers of the Franks and by a perpetual treaty they became with the Parisi one people of Franks. And the city then first earned the name Paris, the very site to which they had previously given the name Lutetia.[62]

From this place, the Frankish people, having progressed with the son of Marcomir, Pharamund,[63] whom his father had already given to them as king, conquered all the lands from the sea which today separates us from the English all the way to the Spanish territories and the distant pass which is called the Cross of Charlemagne in vulgar speech.[64] And thus the land was called France from the name of the Franks, of which Gaul was the ancient name, in which Pharamund was the first who shined with the regal honor, having thoroughly ousted the Romans. His own son Clodius succeeded him. But dying, Clodius relinquished the royal scepter to [his son] Merovich, having his son succeed him by the right of his father.[65] He begat Childric, and dying he made his

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[62] The renaming of Lutetia as Paris is traditionally attributed rather to the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate (r. 355-363) when he used the city as his capitol while he was Caesar, or heir to the throne of the Western Empire. To my knowledge, the name Paris first appears in Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, Book XVIII, I, 1.

[63] Gregory of Tours specifically says "Many people do not even know the name of the first King of the Franks." Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, Book II, 9, p. 120. William the Breton directly confronts this question after recounting the baptism of Clovis. Below, p. 83.

[64] The Latin says *Karoli mete*, or "the boundary marker of Charlemagne." The passes through the Pyranees were marked with many crosses which designated the boundaries between the Kingdom of Navarre and the southwestern territories of France. The most famous of these, at Col de Cize, is near Roncevaux, legendary site of the last stand of Charlemagne's nephew Roland in the *Song of Roland*. The significance here may be two-fold. First, it reaffirms the connection of Philip to the Carolingians, already present in the dedications. And second, it introduces the idea that the contested lands of the south of France, many of which were still claimed by the Angevins at the time of the poem's composition, were a natural part of the inheritance of the Frankish kings.

[65] It is from this (perhaps legendary) Merovich that the first dynasty of the kings of the Franks, the Merovingian dynasty, takes its name.

successor a king by his paternal right.[66] And Childric was father of the illustrious King Clovis, who was the first among the kings of the Franks to believe in Christ, and he earned rebirth by the holy fount of baptism.[67]

[Lines 179-208]

When Saint Remy[68] was preparing to christen Clovis with the holy oil, having been converted by the evangelical teaching, behold! the grieving enemy of man, who always begrudges the honor of the church, broke the vase and spilled the oil.[69] Thus, he to whom his nature gives 1,000 ways of harming,[70] by this deed, hoped to make the king break his vow or at least put off his baptism for a few hours. He rejoiced to offend him at least this much, if not completely, so that he might diminish the merit of the king in any way possible—he who is more prone to injure the spirit than the body. Having seen this, the pagan host was moved, and they exclaimed that this was accomplished by the virtue of their own gods, that the king must not deviate from the old ways, which every

[66] Gregory of Tours described Childeric as having led a debauched life and, like William here, had nothing positive to say about him, apart from his fathering of Clovis. Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, Book II, 12, pp. 128-9.

[67] Clovis (466-511) is the first king of the Franks for whom we have a sizeable amount of historical knowledge. Due to his acceptance of Christianity and his military successes he was the first Frankish king to garner the attention of both Roman and Christian sources. However, William the Breton's version that follows strays dramatically from the most common accounts of the baptism of Clovis, those of Gregory of Tours, Hincmar, bishop of Reims, (*BHL*, 7152), and the *Chronicle* of Flodoard, (*Historia Remensis Ecclesiae in Histoire de l'Église de Reims par Flodoard*, (Reims, 1854) ed. and trans. M. Lejeune), although it incorporates some elements from all of these.

[68] Saint Remy or Saint Remigius (ca. 437 – 533) was the Bishop of Reims who converted and baptized Clovis ca. 496 AD.

[69] In Flodoard's version, the vase is not broken, but rather the cleric charged with bringing the holy oil cannot arrive at the baptismal font because of the size of the crowd. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, v. I, 85-6.

[70] William says *modos...mille nocendi*. Augustine, (*City of God*, Book 8) used the phrase *mille nocendi artes*, "a thousand arts of harming," which he in turn had borrowed from Vergil, *Aeneid*, Book 7, l. 338.

generation of his family held until that time.[71] An event so clear should have shown that God, who allowed the holy oil to go to waste with the vase, did not want the king to be touched by the oil or to bind himself to the law of Christ. But the holy bishop, with eyes and hands lifted aloft, merited through holy prayers that sacred oil in a sacred vase be sent down from heaven. In the presence of the king and with everyone else watching him, an angel sent from heaven brought a new vase and oil to him by which this same king was the first to be consecrated. And all the kings of the Franks called to the scepter after him are, when crowned, consecrated by this very same oil.[72] And thus it happened that the enemy of the church, fearing to lose a single king, deserved to lose all the Franks because he deceitfully constructed this fraud. For when the pagans saw such a great miracle, they all had themselves renewed by the eternal fount.[73]

[Lines 209-218]

And so each king who succeeded another king from that time to this is present in this series for you, reader. This family tree laid open under your faithful eyes lets you know that Pharamund is placed first because he was the first of the Franks to rule in this land, although common opinion affirms that Clovis was the first, because he was the first

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[71] The presence of the devil, the destruction of the vase of oil and the consequent doubt expressed by Clovis' followers represent the greatest variance from the earlier accounts of the baptism in Gregory of Tours, Hincmar, and Flodoard.

[72] This element connects William's version back to that of Hincmar, whose account seems to have created the legend of the Holy Ampulla, or sacred vial of oil, with which the kings of France were crowned until the end of the *Ancien Régime*. Hincmar is also the author most responsible for changing the account of Clovis' baptism into a story, first and foremost, about Saint Remy. See Martin Heinzelmann, "Clovis dans le discours hagiographique," in *Clovis chez les Historiens*, ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin (Chartes, 1996) 87-112, and Daniel Pellus, *Clovis: Réalités et Légendes* (Amiens, 1996) 62. Jacques Le Goff evidently ignored the evidence of the use of the Holy Ampulla when he wrote that it did not appear in coronation ceremonies prior to St. Louis. Le Goff, "Un échec: le dossier de sainteté de Philippe-Auguste," *L'Histoire*, 100, (May, 1987) 22-29.

[73] According to Flodoard and Gregory of Tours, they numbered three thousand, not counting women and children. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis*, p. 86. Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, Book II, 31, p. 144.

of the kings who deserved to believe in Christ, having abandoned the error of the gentiles. Here the line, as if proceeding from the trunk, demonstrates which is the direct line of descent and which is the collateral line.[74]

[Lines 219-254]

It was the year 1179 after the holy time of the virgin birth, when Philip's pious father [Louis VII] decided to bequeath the royal scepter to him on a day to be happily venerated, which the holy Assumption of Mary sanctifies [15 August]. And when the nobles of the kingdom and those honored with the highest ecclesiastical offices were called to such joyous events and the day was near on which the new king was to be anointed, the delight of hunting drew him along with his attendants and those of his same age into the forest of Cuise.[75] It happened by chance that Philip pursued a mighty boar, which he alone saw. Since he was a boy, and so led by desire for the prey and for praise, he ran with no companion into the dark forest. And when he found himself far away from the hunters and he could no longer hear either the voices of the hunters or the horns or the barking of the dogs, that deceptive boar vanished from his eyes, almost as smoke and shadow—if it is right to call a boar one who wanted to inflict so great a disaster on us

[74] In the London manuscript, a space was left for the promised genealogical tree, whereas in the Paris manuscript, there was no space left. Delaborde reports that the Vatican manuscript contains a detailed tree that goes from Marcomir to Dagobert. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, p. 15, n. 5. A simplified tree appears in the Paris manuscript of Rigord's *Chronicle*. *Ibid.*, v. I, p. 54, n. 3; p. 55. Finally, Giles of Paris included the most elaborate of these genealogical trees in the Paris manuscript of his *Carolinus*. See Andrew Lewis, "Dynastic Structures," 230-248. See also the lengthy genealogy in William's *Epitome*, below, Appendix I, pp. 113-119.

[75] "*Quisiam.*" The forest of Cuise, now the forest of Compiegne, stretched east from Compiegne to Soissons. It was presumably during a sojourn at the latter on the way to Reims for the coronation that Philip decided to go hunting. In Act 71 of Delisle's catalogue, Philip Augustus confirms in 1183 an earlier donation made by Louis VII to the monks of St. Jean of the forest of Cuise. Delisle, *Catalogue des Actes*, 17-8.

and to suddenly snatch away from the Franks their Philip, who was the one and only heir to his father and the kingdom.

But when the boy wanted to return from that place to his companions, he could neither find the way, nor did he recognize in what direction he should head. With no companion he wandered for two continuous days and a night in between, the only consolation for him was the solace of his lone horse.[76] He went bearing his restless footsteps—oh the terror!—running through ruts and all the secluded places where unwise wandering led him, here and there. Meanwhile, greatly sought by his sad friends, under the evening star of that day, after many toils and with great difficulty, fortunately, he was finally found. After this, he lay in bed for some time, made ill by many causes. The horror and two days of hunger and the continuous exertion and wandering, hateful to all, had worn him down. And so the predetermined day for him to be consecrated had passed.

[Lines 255-274]

There is no doubt, however, that this trial happened to the boy so that God, by this accident, might render him better and more attentive to care for the affairs of the kingdom. And, in fact, this event which heralded so much honor, which his excellence made worthy to be hoped for, by how much [that honor] was postponed, the more the painful struggle to achieve it has been, then the more pleasing it is, the more dear it is, and he deserves to be loved with that much more zeal. For cheap is the thing which offers itself without a struggle, and the thing bought with labor is held more dear.

[76] Here is the second of the complex polyptotons of Book I, (l. 244): "Solo se solius equi solamine solans."

Furthermore, by this fact our Enemy is confounded, he who always loves to corrupt good seeds, who, when he is not able to take them away, works at least to put off our rewards, and is always an opponent to good deeds.[77] But he can do no harm, except as much as is permitted to him by God, who tests and trains us through him so that in the end, when we have conquered temptation, He may crown us and so practiced virtue may grow in us. Thus it was necessary to set some future occasion at which the future king, now healed, could come to the diadem.

[Lines 275-319]

About that time,[78] the father of Philip, having set out as a pilgrim, sought with zeal for prayer and a devoted mind the church where rested the bones of the martyr Thomas Becket, a man whose virtues God had made spread throughout the whole world.[79] It was in His name Thomas had suffered and died.[80] Therefore, the pious king

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[77] This passage recalls the actions of the devil during the baptism of Clovis at ll. 179-208 above, in the first of two direct connections between the coronation of Philip and the baptism of Clovis. For the second, see below, p. 89, n. 88. For the larger significance of these connections, see the Introduction, pp. 51-3.

[78] The manuscripts read: *Annis ante dies elapsis quatuor illos*, "Four years before those days." I have not seen the Vatican manuscript, but neither the Paris nor the London manuscript show any sign of defect. However, this line (l. 275) cannot be correct. William the Breton has intentionally reinserted from Rigord's *Chronicle* the preceding episode of the boar hunt, which William had previously omitted from his own *Epitome* of Rigord. William has then inserted here, in its proper chronological order, Louis VII's pilgrimage to Thomas Becket's tomb in Canterbury. Louis' pilgrimage did not appear in Rigord, but William had included it in his *Epitome*, albeit without specifying the circumstances of the pilgrimage, and it is widely recorded in the contemporary English chronicles, including the *Gesta Regis Henri Secundi*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series no. 49 (London, 1868) v. I, 240-3, which records that Becket actually appeared to Louis in a vision, and Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimmock and G. F. Warner, Rolls Series, no. 21 (London, 1861-91) v. 8, 159. Here, William has reunited the two elements of the story in their proper order. Therefore, the temporal phrase that begins this passage is inexplicable.

[79] St. Thomas Becket (1118 – 1170) was the Archbishop of Canterbury until his murder at the hands of agents of King Henry II of England. During the conflict that led to his eventual assassination, Thomas spent a long exile in France, where he was well received by King Louis VII, who several times attempted to reconcile the two parties. For Thomas Becket's special role in the narrative arc of the *Philippide*, see the Introduction, pp. 56-60.

[80] Thomas Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral, 29 December 1170 by agents of Henry II, although Henry himself solemnly denied any involvement. For Henry's oath, see Barlow, *Thomas Becket* 261.

[Louis], standing before the holy tomb of the martyr poured out with tears these among other words:

"Holy host, our devotion comforted your exile less than what your honor deserved. You, however, having been put to flight for the liberty of the church, deigning to sanctify my kingdom while you were an exile, living with justice and piety for seven years, received with a satisfied heart whatever our means were able to dispense to you and to the holy fathers whom the enemy of the faith had condemned to exile with you.[81] After these events, you were recalled to your See by a false truce. When your presence left me, it left me sad, and you said to me, (nor will my mind, in which the holy spirit was a guest, allow these words to lack effect): 'The compassion, pious king, which you have always shown me, not as an exile, but as a fellow citizen,[82] by which you comforted me and nourished me with constant gifts, by which you gave to our exile a thousand forms of relief, remains fixed in my heart and it will remain there for all time. And your piety will always hold me mindful of this. I obligate myself through vows of pure faith, that whatever you shall want, whatever you will ask of me, for you and yours, you will never suffer any refusal, so long as the Lord has bestowed on me the power to grant it.'

Thus you promised, thus you willingly bound yourself to me. Remember now your words. Now both the place and the situation demands that you do what your friend, or rather, your submissive servant, prays of you. Behold, you are able, behold, God

[81] The conflict between Becket and Henry II formally began when Becket refused to sign the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), in which Henry attempted to circumscribe the independent activities of the clergy in England and weaken their connection to and dependence on Rome. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 88-116. In October of the same year, Becket fled to France, where he was honorably received by Louis VII. *Ibid.*, 117-142. Those who went into exile with Becket include Hugh Nonant, canon of the cathedral of Lisieux, Thomas' chaplain, Robert, a canon of Merton, and Richard of Salisbury (possibly a relative of John of Salisbury who was later bishop of Chartes) and Herbert of Bosham. *Ibid.*, 120; 130-2.

[82] Note the use of the unusual *concivi* "fellow-citizen," which William contrasts here with *exilio*, "exile."

grants to you whatever you ask of him. Behold, all the sick who ask your aid return to their homes healthy through your merits. I commit Philip to your guardianship, nourishing Father.[83] Protect him. Favor his deeds. I pray that you may want to be a protector for him in every trial—him alone I entrust to you. O greatest Father, bestow the love of a father and the care of a tutor on him whom divine clemency gave to me as sole heir by the merits of the saints and by the prayers of men and by your merits and prayers, when I was already declining, worn out by old age."[84]

[Lines 320-335]

This event and the following deeds prove that such holy vows of Philip's father were heard by the holy martyr—for the piety of his father and the merit of the blessed martyr helped Philip, and he conducted himself in all things in such a way that he would be worthy of the gifts of heaven. Rather more, the saint chose Philip specifically as avenger of his blood and decided, through him and through his future sons, to extirpate from its very roots that whole bloodthirsty race of Patricides.[85] And the martyr himself showed this same thing by divine inspiration to a certain holy man and ordered him to tell Philip, so that the king would be more confident that his wars would please God. And

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[83] "Nourishing Father" (*pater alme*) refers to Becket here.

[84] "Greatest Father" (*optime pater*) again refers to Becket. It should be recalled that William the Breton was the tutor to Pierre Charlot, one of the two dedicatees of the poem. Also, the end of Louis' prayer here recalls the king's prayer, recorded by Rigord and alluded to but not recorded by William in his *Epitome* of Rigord, in which the king asked God for a male heir. Rigord, 1 and William the Breton, *Epitome*, 11 below, pp. 118-9.

[85] There is a double pun here. The first is the obvious pun on *radicitus*, "roots," and *exstirpare*, "to uproot." The second is more complicated and oblique. In the preceding passage, Louis repeatedly addressed Thomas Becket as *pater* "father." In the *Philippide*, (Book III, ll. 747-756) William makes explicit his opinion that Henry II was indeed responsible for the murder of Thomas Becket. Also, in this same passage, which recounts the death of Henry, William seems to transfer Henry's guilt for the death of Becket to Henry's son John, by equating said guilt to the guilt of John for the death of Henry. William repeats this when he narrates the death of John. *Ibid.*, Book XII, ll. 294-309. Therefore, the Plantagenets are patricides both literally and figuratively, as John kills his biological father Henry just as Henry had killed his spiritual "father" Thomas Becket.

although that man put off revealing the thing that he had seen until the time when all of them were nearly extinct, the deed itself created belief in warring Philip, and by this fact it was proved that the vengeance of the martyr had been entrusted to him.[86]

[Lines 336-360]

And now, the day hoped for by all was here. The day which is the first of the month of November, sanctified long ago to all saints, but which now stands out even holier by far, because it was on this day that the great king shined forth, crowned with regal honor, anointed by the holy oil. It was that same oil which God, through angelic hands and prepared by divine virtue, granted to be used by our kings, so that it consecrates only those successors of the Franks who grasp the scepters—that oil which announces the greater excellence of our kingdom, and proves that our king is truly more worthy than all other kings. [This is] the [same] oil which the Archbishop of Reims with his peers has consecrated for that holy anointing, the heavenly oil poured out for this task alone. With this and no other liquid William, the archbishop, anointed the limbs of our "Karolide" in the city of Reims by the preserved custom of his predecessors.[87] And he placed the sacred crown on Philip's revered head to the approving applause of both the clergy and the populace. The esteem of Christ furnishes such a special distinction for us who rejoice together in the honor of the Franks. Thus, the King of Heaven makes our

[86] The promised intervention of the holy man never occurs, unless it refers to the messenger who brings his vision of the death of Philip to the Pope. However, it is St. Denis, not Becket, who appears to the holy man. On the centrality of the Becket theme to the conception of the *Philippide*, see the Introduction, pp. 56-60.

[87] By the end of the twelfth-century, the right of the archbishop of Reims to crown the king of France had become a well-established tradition, supposedly begun with St. Remy's baptism of Clovis. The repetition of "*Karolide*" again reminds the reader that Philip is a "descendent of Charlemagne." It seems that William also intentionally recalls his other epic poem of the same name by the position of the words in the line, as he places his own name *Guillelmus* (here referring to William the Whitehands) just after *Karolide* and *nostri*: "Karolide nostri Guillelmus presul in urbe" with the adjective *Remensi*, "of Reims" which makes clear the identification with the archbishop, enjambed on the next line (ll. 351-2).

king his friend. Thus, he raises him above the other kings of the earth. The Lord determined this king alone would be consecrated with the holy unction of heaven—all others are consecrated with terrestrial grease.[88]

[Lines 361-388]

His father, who was 70 years old at that time, migrated to the Lord soon after in that same year.[89] And Philip himself had not finished half his fifteenth year, only in the first flower of youth, he was fouteen years and two months. After this, he alone held the management of the kingdom, and already began governing through his own free will.[90] He immediately surrendered himself, as one can see, in body and soul to every will of the Lord by Whom he had been given as the special glory of the world. Desiring to dedicate his first deeds to his benefactor, he deprived the Jews of his love, since God and the churches and the law and the sacraments are hateful to them.[91] Then he cancelled all the debts anyone owed them, retaining one fifth for himself to uphold the law of the kingdom.[92] His father had been poor and had left nothing to Philip, save his power, since

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[88] William here repeats a sentiment about the preeminence of the kings of France already expressed above in his recount of the baptism of Clovis (above, pp. 82-3) and previously in the analogous story of the baptism of Clovis in his *Epitome* (below, Appendix I, p. 116).

[89] Louis VII rather died the following year, 18 September 1180 (as correctly stated in the *Epitome*, below, Appendix I, p. 122), at which time he was actually only sixty years old, not seventy.

[90] The idea is that Philip, although only 14 years of age when he was crowned, never technically experienced a minority. Rather, important members of the court such as his mother Adele of Champagne and her brother William the Whitehands and his step-father Count Philip of Flanders acted as "guardians" of sorts. King Henry II of England was also influential, especially in brokering peace between the two "parties" of the house of Champagne and that of Flanders. On Philip's "guardians," see especially Baldwin, *Government*, 28-31.

[91] On Louis VII's rather milder stance toward the Jews, as reported in Rigord, 11, see Jordan, *French Monarchy and the Jews*, 9; 18; and 30. Jordan dates Philip's first actions against the Jews to February of 1181, not 1180 as Rigord (10) specifically says, arguing that Rigord may have meant the first year of Philip's independent reign, after the death of his father Louis in September of 1180. Jordan did not cite the evidence of William the Breton, who in both the *Epitome* (Appendix I, below, p. 126) and here in the *Philippide*, like Jordan, places this act *after* the death of Louis.

[92] See also Rigord, 12 and the *Epitome*, 22, below, Appendix I, pp. 122-3.

Philip had succeeded him as legitimate heir.[93] Indeed, the very generous hand of his pious father had emptied the treasury to the last coin in the service of the Church. Philip could have taken everything for himself if he had wanted to, but he did not make an example beyond this for them, even though these possessions and chattels were those of his slaves. Without delay he drove these same Jews from the confines of his entire kingdom and thus freed it from this harmful rot. He did so, however, with the indulgence of suitable time in which these wretches might prepare themselves and their things and their people for the journey, as custom dictates.[94]

[Lines 389-406]

Then with the superstition of the synagogues having withdrawn, he had churches consecrated in their place wherever a Jewish school or synagogue had been, and by this measure the divine cult was increased in every neighborhood.[95] So that the service of God would not die because of a lack of ministers, he endowed these places with large gifts.[96] Afterwards, he established and enacted by means of a new law throughout the whole kingdom, that if anyone dare to blaspheme the heart or brain or any whatsoever member of God, he would have to pay twenty solidi to the poor of Christ or be thrown into the river.[97] Thus, he sought to drag men away from sinning, as even the worst man

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[93] Literally: "Nam tenui censu fuerat pater," "His father had been weak in assets," (l. 377).
[94] These events are covered in some detail by Jordan, *French Monarchy and the Jews,* 30-37.
[95] Act 82 of Delisle's catalogue of Philip's Acts gave the synagogue of the Jews of Paris to Maurice, the bishop of Paris to be converted into a church. Act 86 gave to the "drapiers" of Paris 24 houses that belonged to the Jews in exchange for an annual rent of 100 Parisian pounds. In Act 90, Philip gave the clergy of Etampes the synagogue there. Delisle, *Catalogue des Actes*, 20-22.
[96] The difference between Jewish and Christian institutional life is notable. The Christian churches needed endowments from the local nobility, or in the Ile de France, from the king himself, unlike Jewish schools and synagogues which were supported by the members of their communities.
[97] A common medieval form of profanity was to swear on the limbs and body parts of God. Gerald of Wales pointed out the sobriety of language at Philip's court as opposed to that of the Plantagenets. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus,* 167.

may be called back little by little. France is excessively defiled by this awful practice of blasphemy, by swearing for trivial causes or no reason at all, essentially tearing apart the blessed limbs of Jesus which he had offered up for our well being, or vilely blaming him for our sins.[98]

[Lines 407-435]

Having expelled the Jews and put them to flight by holy rigor, he then even more quickly persecuted arch-heretics, those who deceive the hearts of the simple with false doctrine, killing careless souls with hidden deceit. He chased out those who reject the benefits of marriage, who say the eating of meat is wrong and who introduce other superstitions, which the letter of Paul touches upon briefly, all those who had knowledge of things contrary to our faith, who are called by the common name "Popelicanos," forcing them to come out from the shadows and their lairs.[99] They were convicted according to the law and were sent to the fires. At that time they suffered the earthly flame, but after they will continually suffer the fires of Gehenna.[100] However, God could indulge these in the very hour of [their] death, if they have repented with a pure heart, as He who was crucified, as we read, is to have said to the thief hanging on the cross: "you

[98] William "slips" into the present tense here (*fedatur*, "is defiled"), possibly implying that Philips laudatory efforts to check blasphemy were, nevertheless, ineffectual.

[99] He seems to be referring to the Cathars who abstained from sex and the eating of meat. The Cathars were often portrayed as distant descendents of the Manicheans, a dualist heresy of the early church, against whom Paul had written an epistle to Timothy. 1 *Timothy* 4:3. On the putative connections with the Manicheans, see especially Joseph Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades* (New York, 1971) 26-7. William the Breton had described the Cathars in almost identical terms in his original *Chronicle*, 177: "heresim quam apostolus in epistola ad Timotheum predixerat in fine seculorum futuram, detestantem nuptias et carnes comedi prohibentem, et alia fidei catholice contraria que in eadem epistola plenius exprimuntur." Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, p. 258.

[100] Gehenna is a name for the Valley of Hinnom outside of Jerusalem, where among other things, trash was burned. The word became a synonym for Hell especially in Christianity, but in Judaism and Islam as well. The reference here seems to be taken from *Mark* 9:43. The oldest reference to Hinnom in the Hebrew Bible is at *Joshua* 15:8.

will be given eternal life and you will seize the joy of paradise with me today."[101] This is the merit of faith for the thief, who, with the contrition of the heart and the grace which precedes free will, was lifted by a final supplication at the end of life.

Thus, Philip purged all the regions of the kingdom everywhere of all heretics and of the impious faithlessness of the Jews, by whose usury the world is soiled. No one was able to live anywhere in the kingdom who contradicted the laws of the Church, or who did not firmly consent Catholically to the faith in every article, or who denied the sacraments.

[Lines 436-452]

In Paris there is a place called by the name Champeaux.[102] In this place, by customary practice, the bodies of all those who happened to die in the city were buried. It was usually open to all men and even to pigs and they dirtied it with filthiness, waste,[103] and much manure. What was worse, prostitution took place there. And thus, in that hallowed place, great insult was done to the dead, for whom one should always show, by God's instruction, fear and reverence. For this reason, the king, burning with the zeal of divine love and indignant that these disgraces were taking place in a consecrated cemetery where the bodies of many Saints rested, surrounded it with stone blocks and built refined walls in a circuit of a width and height appropriate for forts or cities. And so, this sacred place was cleansed of every filth and from then on due honor was given to it.

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[101] *Luke* 23: 39-43. Interestingly, despite William's citation of Peter Riga in the introduction, I found no significant echo of Riga's versified Bible, the *Aurora*, either here or at any of the other biblical references in Book I.
[102] This is the location of the cemetery of Les Innocents and the market of Les Halles. See note 24 above.
[103] Literally *scobibus*, "shavings," "chips" or "sawdust."

[Lines 453-481]

Meanwhile, the magnanimous king in every moment was eliminating the sins of the Franks and was eliminating the friends of sin by force. But while, newly in power, Philip was rejoicing to establish the Catholic faith in all things by driving out the heresies, Hebo of Berry, Guy, count of Chalon-sur-Sâone, and ferocious Humbert who held Beaujeu and many other castles under his authority, undertook to impose in their lands all manners of exactions on the Church of Christ and the ministers of His church, wherever each thought he could take more for himself.[104] The king, though a boy in age, but mature in spirit and arms, subdued them in war, quicker than one could hope, and he made all their necks submit to the feet of the church. And he brought down so strong a hand upon these thieves that they restored everything that they had taken from the clergy or the tenants of the clergy, having first made reparations.

Thus, the new king in his newness consecrated the first of his acts and the first of his battles to Christ and his church with a devoted mind. He rejoiced in the new signs of knighthood for God. And in this way the new recruit chose to defend the patrimony of the Crucified One with arms rather than to surround himself with vain youths, or to follow the pompous honor of vainglory. And so he earned the aid of the Lord and the propitious outcomes of years to come as God directed the acts of His young champion enjoying His favor. What is more, the king was deemed worthy to be visited with the following signs and to be shown the naked face of the Lord.

[Lines 482-504]

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[104] See Rigord 7 and 8. In Rigord, these are two separate rebellions. See Baldwin, *Government*, 26 and Georges Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953) 535-42.

One day while the young king was listening to the great mystery of the mass in the castle Yveline,[105] which is surrounded on all sides by woods for which the holy name of Leodegarius[106] is applied, he saw in the hands of the priest, which were being raised in the holy moment, [the image of] a boy of remarkable splendor and the angelic citizens of Heaven crowding close to the boy in great devotion.[107] Having seen this, the king sank down with tears flowing on his face and he sacrificed his whole heart on the altar to the Lord, Who reveals His secrets to whom He wants, when He wants. But no onlooker deserved to see this very sign, not even the priest himself: the mystical vision revealed itself to the king alone—such a thing could worthily show itself to him alone. And through this sign, he who was already quick to protect the clerics and the church, because of this sign, would, even more readily and more devoted by far, bind himself to the work of virtue for the rest of his life. There is no doubt that the secrets of the faith were revealed to him so that he might know the strength with which Christ protects human health through His mysteries. Christ daily offers His very Self to the Father for sinners in the form of bread when the prescribed holy rites are undertaken in the manner of the Church that He Himself established.

[Lines 505-530]

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[105] This is a part of the modern day forest of Rambouillet, west of Paris. See Map, below, p. 136.

[106] According to the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, which postdates the *Philippide*, St. Leodegarius or St. Leger (ca. 615 – 2 October, 679) was the bishop of Autun. Ebroin, the mayor of the palace, eventually had Leodegarius blinded, his tongue cut out and eventually beheaded. Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, 1969) 595-597.

[107] It would seem that Philip saw a vision of an infant Jesus. William (l. 487) calls the angels "citizens" (*cives*) of Heaven. On the significance of this otherwise unreported vision, see the Introduction, pp. 49-50.

Before King Philip had completed his sixteenth year[108] he had protected the church of God so well that all saw that he was a champion of Christ and a defender of the faith and the clergy. But behold, many nobles, counts, and dukes of the kingdom, considering the influence of Philip's tender age and not the strength of his spirit nor the love by which a vassal is held to his lord or a soldier to his king, conspired and prepared to attack him jointly, challenging the king to war. Foremost among these was Count Stephen,[109] who held the town of Sancerre and a great portion of the fields of fertile Berry, which produces a famous wine.[110] And even though he was a vassal and the king's maternal uncle, in as much as his sister was Adele,[111] the queen mother, Stephen declared war against his lord and nephew. But the one who was, in their minds, thought to be still soft, tender, rash, and unable to defend himself soon showed them in no uncertain terms how far their opinion was from reality.[112] Philip proved himself a king in war, wise in heart, youthful in deed, mature in force of mind. And they, justly disappointed in their hope, found severe the king whom they thought merely pious, and the one they reputed beatable, they realized was unconquerable by force, and the one they

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[108] This gives a time frame of September 1180 to September 1181.

[109] Stephen I (1133-1190), first Count of Sancerre (1151-1190) and third son of Count Theobald II of Champagne (1090-1151), inherited Sancerre upon his father's death. He was the older brother of William the Whitehands, archbishop of Reims, and Queen Adele, the widow of Louis VII and the mother of Philip Augustus. Stephen was later reconciled with Philip and took part in the Third Crusade where he died in October of 1190 at the Siege of Acre. Rigord (9) is exceedingly vague in his report of Stephen's rebellion, refusing to name any of the participants. William the Breton's own account in the *Epitome* (19, below, Appendix I, pp. 121-2) is briefer than that of Rigord, but more explicit, enabling the identification of the events in Rigord with the rebellion of Champagne clan. This early event is only mentioned in passing by Baldwin (*Government*, 17) and completely ignored by Bradbury (*Philip Augustus*).

[110] William the Breton evidently had a fondness for wine as he repeatedly points out the quality of local beverages. See Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, "Notice," lxxiv.

[111] Adele of Champagne, the third wife of Louis VII and mother of Philip Augustus. Her brothers included Stephen, Henry Count of Champagne, Theobald, Count of Blois, and William the Whitehands, Archbishop of Reims. See above, note 111.

[112] It is possible that William's *inconsultus* (l. 521), which I have rendered as "rash," could mean "ill-advised." This possibility gains support from the fact that, in what little he has to say on this conflict, Baldwin argues that it stemmed from resentment of the House of Champagne of Philip's mother and uncles toward the growing influence of the House of Flanders after the king's marriage to Count Philip of Flanders' daughter Isabelle on 28 April, 1180. Baldwin, *Government*, 15-17.

reckoned subject to the rule of his tender youth, they found instead that he lacked nothing in spite of his age.

[Lines 531-564]

Not far from the river Loire, the castle Châtillon flourished in fertile fields, which the beautiful river graces on the near side, while vineyards crown the rest.[113] It stood proud with high towers, walls and moats—as if to say that it need not fear the strength of anyone.[114] Then, Count Stephen also fortified the castle with weapons, grain, and brave men and many soldiers.[115] But the king hastened there with a swift march and he besieged it completely and he captured it with a mighty assault, quicker than he might have hoped. He razed the captured castle to the ground, and indulging emotions of rage, he burned it completely, and with scouts he despoiled all the surrounding land of booty, farmers, and riches.[116]

Then Stephen, seeing his loss to be irreparable (certainly this shock was enough to make him understand this), appealed as a suppliant at the feet of the king, having laid down his arms, and rendering himself and all his possessions to the will of the king. The king buried his anger and joyfully received him back, and bestowed upon him his prior affection. By Count Stephen's example, all the rest who had refused compliance with the

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[113] Guizot inexplicably suggested Châtillon-sur-Cher, which apart from the fact that it is over 100 kilometers (60 miles) from the Loire, certainly does not lie between the lands of Philip Augustus and count Stephen, as Châtillon-sur-Loire does.

[114] I have not been able to uncover an archeological survey of the site. I personally visited the site in the summer of 2009. It stands at the highest point of the town and surrounding countryside and there survives the east wall of the castle, facing the river, for a stretch of about 40 meters, and the foundations of a square tower, approximately 6 meters square, on the south-east corner. A private dwelling now stands on the ruins.

[115] Literally: *validisque viris, et milite multo.*

[116] It is unclear what William means by "despoiling all the surrounding land of … farmers (*agricolis*)." (l. 543).

king sent a messenger to ask for peace, which Philip soon granted them with an obliging heart. For Philip's soul and his nature, from their first formation, always had a quality more blessed than every other quality and it bestowed him with such good fortune: in as much as he aggressively attacked one who persisted in enmity, equally he would piously call himself back from the defeated foe, and he never denied pardon to a supplicating enemy. Just as it is enough for the angry lion to have prostrated the bodies of his enemies, the fight comes to an end when the enemy is laid low.[117] Just so, having pacified these men and bound them by a lasting peace, the king re-crossed the Loire with these matters settled happily, and returned home. And for a period of one year the land was quiet, suffering none of the upheavals of war.[118]

[Lines 565-579]

Scarcely had the year of peace finished when Duke Hugh of Burgundy started oppressing churches with a resentful mind.[119] He disturbed the peace of the monasteries and the repose of the clergy. He was powerful in men, rich in resources, and abounding in weapons and warlike men sent by the noble castle of Dijon and the very ancient city Autun.[120] The latter was a city full of riches which once teemed with many legions and

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[117] William has adapted this metaphor from Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III, 5, ll. 33-34: *Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni, / Pugna suum finem cum iacit hostis habet.* "It is enough for the magnanimous lion to have prostrated the bodies, the fight has its end when the enemy lies low." Surely this adaptation was encouraged by Ovid's description of the lion with William's favorite epithet for Philip, *magnanimus*.

[118] William conflated two separate rebellions of Stephen of Sancerre into a single account of the final destruction of the castle at Châtillon-sur-Loire in 1181. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 30, n. 1. Therefore, the year of peace is presumably 1182.

[119] This is Hugh III, Duke of Burgundy (1142 – 25 August, 1192). This entire episode is transposed from much later in both Rigord's *Chronicle* and William's own *Epitome* and took place in 1186, not just over one year later. See Rigord, 32 and *Epitome*, 31, below, pp. 124-5.

[120] See the Map, below, p. 136.

had been most tightly joined to the sons of Romulus[121] by a treaty. The inhabitants of old were an arrogant people that very often harassed their neighbors with constant wars, but now the place is deserted except for a few tenants. In the famous villages where there were once houses and treasure, now in place of treasure stand only woods, in place of people, only tamarisks.[122] This is the city which King Arthur took away from Rome and the same place that the destructive Norwegian Rollo later reduced entirely to nothing, such that now there hardly remains a trace.[123]

[Lines 580-608]

Wine rich Beaune, pleasant because of its fertile soil and with its red wine which spurs the mind to fierce wars, belonged, along with many other places, to Duke Hugh. Chors, Semur, Flavigny, Mulseau, and the fertile lands of Avallon, and nearly all of Burgundy, a rich and happy land if its native sons enjoyed peace, were all placed under his authority by hereditary right. But he was nevertheless liable to the king for these.[124] In addition, the castle called Châtillon-sur-Seine, a noble town, glory of the Burgundians,[125] and bulwark of the realm, which, with the castle in the middle, is washed

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[121] The "Sons of Romulus" are the ancient Romans. Although Autun was somewhat sparsely populated in the Middle Ages, the many surviving ruins of the Roman city of Augustodonum evidenced the importance of the settlement in antiquity.

[122] l. 576: *Myricas*, "tamarisks." Virgil uses this particular tree on four separate occasions in the *Eclogues*, where it conveys a sense of humility and desolation. Virgil, *Eclogues*, IV, l. 2, VI, l. 10, VIII, l. 54 and X, l. 13. See Vergil, *Eclogues*, ed. Robert Coleman (Cambridge, 1977) 129, n. 2.

[123] Delaborde explained that William had culled these materials about Arthur and Rollo, which he first presented in the expanded excursus on the Trojan origins of the Franks in William's *Epitome*, from the *Chronicles* of William of Jumièges and Hugh of St. Victor. Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 175, nn. 1 and 7. Beyond demonstrating that William was already employing multiple sources as he epitomized and sought to "improve" Rigord's *Chronicle*, the transposition of these "facts" from their original locus in the *Epitome* also represents further evidence that the *Philippide* is not merely a versification of the prose chronicles. Rather, William the Breton used his source material as the framework around which he could construct a coherent and more orderly, if somewhat a-historical, narrative for his epic poem. See the Introduction, pp. 45-60.

[124] As in, despite his hereditary right, Duke Hugh still had feudal obligations to Philip for the lands he held.

[125] William consistently refers to the Burgundians as the "Allobroges."

by the shimmering waters of the Seine.[126] The river Seine is the father and instructor of such noble men, more imbued with military skill, understanding, learning, philosophy, natural skill, art, fine clothes, and radiance than any others in the world.[127] At this place, the duke, fearing the king, had fortified the castle with everything that is useful for war: weapons, strong guards and many soldiers.[128] And the prescient lord[129] gathered enough grain for the men and he stuffs the castle abundantly with supplies. In this way, they would lack nothing for the duration of the war. And he had the towers and ramparts reinforced,[130] and had the walls supported from below and had them fit with tall, narrow windows so that strong guards might shoot out arrows, harbingers of death, with their hidden art.[131] And he urgently demanded that they widen and deepen the moats that surround the walls so that the combatants outside would have no entrance to the castle and so that it would be impregnable on all sides.

[Lines 609-620]

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[126] See the Map below, p. 136.

[127] It should be recalled that both Mantes and Paris, where William himself studied, lie on the Seine, which probably explains the special affection demonstrated here. On William's education, see the Introduction, above, 7.

[128] William the Breton distinguishes between *satellites* and *milites*, which I have rendered as "guards" and "soldiers."

[129] In a medieval context, the noun *heros* becomes confounded with the identical Frankish word meaning "lord" which, given the situation, is doubtlessly what William the Breton intended here, rather than either a modern or classical sense of "hero," although the interpretation is ambiguous. See *Medieval Latin Word List*, p. 203, "heroic/e."

[130] William the Breton seems to have coined the verb *hurdare*, here used as a passive infinitive (*hurdari*), adapted from the attested noun *hurdicium*. See the Introduction, p. 35.

[131] The use of bows and crossbows against fellow Christians was actually condemned by the church at the Second Lateran Council (1139). Interestingly, crossbows are somewhat rarely attested in use in France until the end of the twelfth-century. Indeed, William the Breton himself blames Richard the Lionheart for their reintroduction in 1185 (*Philippide*, Book II, ll. 316-326). This, however, is certainly a rhetorical device employed by William to add irony to Richard's death at the end of Book V, which is brought about by the bolt of a crossbow. *Philippide*, Book V, ll. 588-611. In fact, William must have known he was falsifying the evidence of crossbows since Suger had often referred to the use of crossbows in his *Deeds of Louis the Fat*. See Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (Oxford, 1984) 71-2. On the role and reputation of archers generally, see Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer*, (New York, 1985).

Therefore the king, in his goodness, sent a written summons of peace to the duke and urged him to give up his wicked plans.[132] The duke was made worse by the warning and he carried out the despoiling of the church more severely. Nor did he restrain himself from rage, but rather he oppressed the clergy and the patrimony of Christ more still.[133] The king repeated his righteous warnings to no effect. Rather he lit more strongly the fury he wanted to restrain, and the duke's rage found more fuel for a greater evil, despite the king's attempts to check it. Much as Ovid's fable once told us about Pentheus who, contrary to the wishes of nobles of Thebes, created a greater anger when he sought to eliminate the rites of Bacchus from his community, when Acoetes threatened the fates.[134]

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[132] The noun *monitiva* is not attested. However, William evidently uses it as an alternative for *monitio* meaning "a summons" or "a warning" from (*moneo*, "to warn") for metrical reasons. Also noteworthy is the inclusion of the participle *scripta* "written," modifying the *monitiva*. Therefore, William the Breton emphasizes that these are written warnings.

[133] The "patrimony of Christ" refers to the lands of the church and, presumably, those specifically of the monastery of Cluny.

[134] The reference here is to Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book III, ll. 511-733. Representing the final tale of the third book of Ovid's epic, the story recounts how Pentheus tried to prevent the worship of Bacchus in his city of Thebes. One of the Bacchantes, Acoetes, is arrested and tries to convince Pentheus of the authenticity of Bacchus' divinity by telling his own firsthand experience of the god's power. Pentheus is unmoved by the young man's tale and has Acoetes sent to prison to await execution. Pentheus then goes himself to Mount Cithaeron to attempt to stop the celebration of Bacchus' rites in person, leading to his own death at the hands of his mother and her sisters who, in their ritual frenzy, mistake Pentheus for a wild boar. The insertion of this particular tale is somewhat difficult to explain. One could, perhaps, presume that Pentheus represents Philip as an enemy of heresy and the defender "proper" religion. However, the line of Ovid's poem that seems to have spawned the recollection (l. 566: *acrior admonitu est inritaturque retenta*) refers to Pentheus' followers attempting to restrain Pentheus from interfering, and not Pentheus trying to restrain the Bacchantes. Therefore, perhaps we might better equate Pentheus with Duke Hugh, whose rage or madness becomes greater because of the warning. Furthermore, the reference to Acoetes "threatening the fates" is cryptic. The tale that Acoetes recounts to Pentheus in the Ovidian story describes how Bacchus turned Acoetes' crew into dolphins when the attempted to trick the god, despite Acoetes' intuition of his divinity. Therefore, rather than "threating the fates," perhaps the line rather refers to Acoetes "tempting fate" by constantly trying to warn unreceptive audiences about the divinity of Bacchus. Be that as it may, as I have noted in the Introduction, these approximately 200 lines seem to have supplied William the Breton with a wealth of vocabulary, including many words which are conspicuous for their frequent repetition in Book I and the *Philippide* as a whole. See the Introduction, p. 34. Finally, Delaborde emended the manuscript reading from "Aceste" to "Acestes." Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, p. 32, n. 2. I believe the proper emendation is to "Acetes," since I cannot see how the emendation to Acestes would make more sense, especially considering Acestes is not all related to the Ovidian tale cited here, nor did he ever in any way "tempt the fates," as far as I am aware.

[Lines 621-647]

The boy king, indignant at being scorned as a boy and not esteemed as a king, flew faster than he could assemble his troops, and he hurried into the recesses of Burgundy. He was accompanied by only a few professional soldiers, for his great anger did not allow him to wait for enough men to be summoned. And now, after leaving behind the fields of Champagne and Brie, and Troyes, he quickly passed by the walls of Bar, and the noble host brought itself within the walls of Mulseau, waiting there for the army for three nights.[135] Five units of troops followed him in haste.[136] While Philip and his company delayed for three days in the valley of Mulseau, some scouts informed the king about the fortifications of Châtillon, its armaments and with how many and what sort of men Duke Hugh had filled it. But neither the design of the place, properly supplied with so many defenses, nor the excellent body of so many soldiers who were guarding the castle from within frightened Philip's spirit. Instead, he besieged it immediately, quickly surrounding the walls with his army. At that hour, when it is neither day nor night, but when it seems to be both, when dull sleep hardly allows weighty eyes to open, when extreme tranquility fills the veins with the dew of poppies, in that moment, the energetic boy surrounded the outer wall of the castle, which contains

[135] The route taken by Philip here traces a march along the banks of the Seine. See the Map, below, p. 136.
[136] I have substituted "units" for William's *manipli*, "maniples" (l. 630). Since it is doubtful that Philip Augustus divided his army into units anything like those of the classical Roman army, this seems to be another example of William's use of classical rather than contemporary terminology, at the expense of exactitude. In the Roman army, each maniple consisted of approximately 300 men, subdivided into three centuries (although these were not evenly divided into three groups of 100 men, despite the name). It may be that William took a total number of men of approximately 1500 and divided it based on the Roman terminology, or it may simply be poetic based on classical models. On the divisions of the Roman Army, see Adrian Goldsworthy, *Roman Warfare* (London, 2000) 51. On the use of classical Latin vocabulary in the *Philippide*, see the Introduction, p. 34. On military terminology and vocabulary in the writings of William the Breton and his predecessors, see Elisabeth Carpentier, "Le Combattant médiéval: problems de vocabulaire de Suger à Guillaume le Breton," in *Le Combattant au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1995) 25-35.

within it many acres of land, with his forces and his banners. There was no exit available for those wanting to go out which was not invested by mounted men and foot soldiers.[137]

[Lines 648-665]

Meanwhile, Dawn, forerunner of the sun, strips the land of shadows and light is returned to the world.[138] Then, the citizens, rising from their beds, realize that they are completely surrounded. They scale the walls, hasten in disorganized groups to close the gates, and they carry fascines and wicker screens on their shoulders.[139] If some crevice opens on their high walls, they strive to plug the holes. Here, the workers resemble ants, when a traveler or a shepherd hits them with his staff.[140] They run, now here, now there with no order, struggling constantly to repair the fragments of their tunnels with constant ardor, as you see them burst out of their ant hills.[141] No differently than this, did the besieged run indiscriminately across the walls and through the streets and alleys. All are amazed at the manner in which the king was able to so quickly surround the walls, whence came the innumerable thousands to cover the fields, whence came so many armed men in so little time, all of whom he was able to organize into one assembled unit.

[Lines 666-697]

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[137] William the Breton draws a distinction between foot soldiers and mounted men, with the units of foot soldiers again referred to as "maniples." See the previous note.

[138] Aurora, the mythological goddess of dawn has a long-standing connection with epic, going back to Homer. Here particularly William seems to echo Virgil, who employed Aurora to introduce a new day on twenty separate occasions in the *Aeneid* and four times in the *Georgics*. William borrows words and expressions from many of them, without deliberately echoing any single instance. On Aurora in epic in general and Virgil in specific, see Arthur L. Keith, "The Dawn in Vergil," *Studies in Philology* 22, No. 4 (Oct., 1925) 518-521.

[139] The fascines and wicker screens seem to be materials for blocking up holes that may open on the walls from the coming bombardment. Much of the vocabulary and military imagery that follows seems to derive from Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, Book III, 53-55.

[140] William the Breton here (l. 655) uses *labor* ("work") as metonymy for *laboratores* ("workers").

[141] This passage seems to have been influenced by, but not imitated from, Virgil's extended ant metaphor at *Aeneid*, Book IV, ll. 393-407, which describes the Trojans as ants as they make their early morning preparations to leave Carthage.

But the king, so that no time be wasted in the siege, pressed on, and day and night and in person he gave, above all, courage to the combatants.[142] The rock-throwing engines hurl stones. The broken hurdles crumble from the constant blows.[143] Cracks open across the severed ramparts. Now, having interwoven and joined their wicker and wooden shields everywhere, Philip's energetic soldiers hold the far side of the ditches and shoot constant arrows in groups so that none of the defenders would dare to ascend the wall tops nor run across the defenses in the usual manner to bring missiles or rocks which the defenders would be able to throw down from the walls.[144] The moats are filled with earth, and having erected ladders under the very walls, a member of the king's household troop, (whom the king always brought everywhere he went) crawled quickly in the manner of a squirrel onto the walls.[145] Already Manasses Mauvoisin,[146] with amazing quickness, already the swift knight of Barres[147] are in the front line, and they scale the ladders, using all their courage, and are atop the walls. The conquered defenders have retreated and they occupy the highest citadel in a tightly packed group, so

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[142] Philip Augustus' presence *in persona* is conspicuous.

[143] The "hurdles" (*hurdicia*) were wooden palisades or, as in the case here, wooden battlements added to the stone works to provide better protection for both the defenders on the walls and the walls themselves by absorbing some of the blows from the enemy projectiles. *Medieval Latin Word List*, p. 208. See also Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p. 107.

[144] On tactics in siege warfare, see especially Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege*, (Woodbridge, UK, 1992). See also the important review of this book and the state of the question of medieval siege warfare generally in Bernard S. Bachrach, "Medieval Siege Warfare: A Reconnaissance," *The Journal of Military History*, 58, No. 1 (Jan., 1994), 119-133.

[145] William the Breton uses the previously unattested *cirogrillus*, which Delaborde has, undoubtedly correctly, connected to *escurellus*, "squirrel." Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. II, 34, n. 2.

[146] Baldwin, *Government*, 167, discusses a royal agent named Pierre Mauvoisin, castellan of Lyons in 1202/3. This otherwise unreported person could be a relative.

[147] This is William of Barres (ca. 1160 – 1234), the great knight of France, who accompanied Philip on the Third Crusade and played a decisive role at the Battle of Bouvines. He was first an enemy of Richard I, supposedly because he continuously bested the English king during the impromptu tournaments staged outside of Messina as the crusading army passed the winter of 1190-1. The two later make peace after William repeatedly distinguished himself for bravery in *Outremer*, having been left in charge of the French contingent after the departure of Philip in August 1191. Baldwin, *Government*: On William of Barres' royal service, 114; at Bouvines, 216-7. On William of Barres' relationship with Richard, see Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 84-5. In both the London and Paris manuscripts a later hand has written *Guillelmus*; in the left margin in L and above *Barrensis* in P.

that they might be able to save their lives for some short time more. The great wealth which that exceptionally rich town had, which was now all exposed, the king gave to his soldiers and his guards as the worthy reward for their bravery, keeping the prisoners for himself by fiscal right. Immediately after, the broken citadel fell quicker than one could have hoped, and falling to the ground it opened, taken by the conqueror. In the citadel were countless captured citizens, with many soldiers, and what is more, the most rightful heir of the duke is himself seized, he who later was Duke Eudes [III].[148]

[Lines 698-709]

Therefore the duke, seeing that he was unable to resist such a force, and fearing for his son, who was held in chains, abandoned his boasts and he put aside the arrogantly sinister designs of his mind. And, finally made humble and by his own judgment admitting to have promoted an unjust cause, he came tardily to recognize how much he had failed in his duty to his lord, to whom he confessed to have sinned. And, on bent knee, he willingly threw himself at the king's feet, begging that whatever the king might want for him, or might impose or judge both for him and his men. And he agreed to accept whatever it might please the king to decide to inflict as the penalty for the guilty defendant—whichever punishment the king might deem just.

[Lines 710-724]

The king, whose nature always leads him to pity and to grant forgiveness, and whose piety knew how to exceed worthy prayers and supplications, therefore embraced his reformed enemy with joyful arms and he received him back in friendship and into his

[148] This is Duke Eudes III of Burgundy (1166-1218), son of Hugh III. He later served Philip with distinction at the Battle of Bouvines. Baldwin, *Government*, 216-7.

former favor. He gave his lands, towns and noble fortress back to the duke, and he let him retain all that which belonged to him by right, all the captured lands which he had seized from the duke with just force. And since the pious king chose to prefer fairness to justice, along with these things, he restored to the duke his son, without ransom, a thing which the duke could hardly have hoped for. However, before he gave any of these back to the duke, the king first made good the damages to the Church. And to ensure that he would be loyal for the rest of his life, the duke made sufficient guarantee to the king through hostages, pledges and an oath.[149]

[Lines 725-744]

Without delay, the army went to the lands of Berry,[150] so that it might check the strength and cruelty of the Cotereaux, who were giving no honor and no reverence to the churches or the church property or to the holy men, hallowed objects, or sacred places.[151] No virtue benefitted the young man, nor tender age the boy, nor infirmity the old, nor nobility the well born, nor civilian garb[152] the farmer, nor frock the cleric, nor fragility of her sex the woman, nor sacred order the priest, to spare them decapitation by these Cotereaux wherever they happened to be, if they held power over this place by arms or deceit. However, before killing, the Cotereaux tormented many by various tortures, or

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[149] This was evidently successful, as both Duke Hugh and his son Eudes served Philip loyally thereafter.
[150] See the Map, below, p. 136.
[151] The Cotereaux (Cotarelli) seem to be a gang of disbanded mercenaries, supposedly connected with the suppressed rebellion of Henry the Young King and his brother Geoffrey versus Henry II. When the rebellion collapsed following the death of young Henry in June of 1183, the unpaid mercenary army began to pillage the countryside. On the "Cotteraux," in this context and in general, see J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, trans. Sumner Willard and S. C. M. Southern (Amsterdam, 1977) 120-122.
[152] Here William says *toga* which I have rather loosely translated as "civilian garb," (as in, non-military, non ecclesiastical) since the classical sense seemed completely inappropriate and the word is placed in opposition to the *frocus* ("habit") of the clergy. I have not uncovered any analogous contemporary usage, however the *Medieval Latin Word-List* (p. 431) records its use as "outer garment" for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

they killed with a slow death, so that they first might succeed in extorting money from them. However, the royal army checked them, by killing 7,000 of them in a single day.[153] And whoever was driven out and had escaped the danger of death by flight was dispersed throughout the whole region, so thereafter they did not dare to harm the king or the realm.

[Lines 745-767]

The land of Brie has a fortified town called Brie-Comte-Robert in which the Countess of Brie had many Jews who, as is their custom, lent money at interest.[154] It happened that a confessor of our faith, a peasant, owed some great amount of money to them. When it was not paid back, the countess left the poor wretch to the Jews to punish at their discretion, especially since he had committed particular insults against them. So the countess, without any fear of God, in her womanly shallowness, cruelly exposed the limbs of Christ to his enemies. So the Jews strip the man naked, crown him with thorns, and bearing the thorny crown they drag him through the towns, through the fields, as they beat him with clubs, hit him with their fists and lash him with whips. And finally they raised on a cross the man whom they had treated so wickedly, wounded his side with a

[153] Rigord (23-4) provides the basis for the account of this victory of Philip's army. We might guess that Philip was not there in person, since he is not mentioned and the lines that proceed this say "the army went" without mention of the king. Furthermore, Rigord specifically says that Philip: "misit exercitum suum." Delaborde (*Œuvres*, v. I, 36, n. 1) gives the date of 20 August 1183 for the victory.

[154] The exact location is still debated, as Rigord, who first recorded the event is ambiguous on the point, but Jordan, referring to William's words at *Epitome* 63, (below, Appendix I, p. 126), contends that he clearly intends the town of Brie-Comte-Robert. Jordan, *French Monarchy and the Jews*, 36. *Cf.* Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Nothern France*, 69*ff*, who says the town was Bray-sur-Seine.

lance and his hands and feet with nails so that the passion of the serf would be similar to the punishment of the Lord.[155]

When the king heard this, he was disturbed by an excessive rage and his heart was consumed by holy zeal for Christ, and so he came in person with all possible speed. The champion[156] of the Lord found every Jew in Brie and burned all 99 of them at the stake.[157] Thus, he avenged the shameful disrespect of Christ and this ignominy perpetrated by the Jews with the fire of retribution.

[Lines 768-787]

The king, who had been too generous with his money in the time of a certain war,[158] when events demanded that he pay a salary to many men, asked the church of Reims, and he asked in writing, that it might provide money to him, as the church is often accustomed to help its patrons, by which he himself might, more grateful to them, want to spend freely [in order to help] many. The clergy of Reims said that they were held by law to offer assistance to the king with prayers to the highest King, not to give money or taxes, lest the church bear an uncustomary burden. Soon afterward, when the war was concluded and the king and the nobles were enjoying peace, a difficult situation forced the church of Reims in turn to ask the king for aid. The count of Rethel, the count of

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[155] Here William the Breton has intentionally inverted the words "passion" and "punishment" in order to highlight the similarity of circumstances and further dramatize the event through this poetic chiasmus.
[156] William says literally *pugil* "pugilist," (l. 765) which I have rendered somewhat loosely as "champion."
[157] Rigord, 84, says "eighty or more" Jews. William the Breton at *Epitome*, 63, (below, Appendix I, p. 126) also says "eighty or more." Whatever the exact number, it was probably not "all" the Jews, as William says here. Jordan, *French Monarchy and the Jews*, 36. This is especially true if rather Chazan is correct about the location being Bray-sur-Seine, since there were Jews called "of Bray" in the succeeding generation. See Chazan, *Medieval Jewry*, 94.
[158] William is noticeably vague here. This account seems to stem from Rigord, 137 and *Epitome*, 109, which would have taken place in 1201. Baldwin, *Government*, 284-5. Delaborde has noted that an almost identical tale with different protagonists appears in Chapter XV of Voltaire's *Zadig*. See Delaborde, *Œuvres*, v. I, 206, n. 8.

Couci, and the lord of Rozoi, with no fear of the king or of God, were eagerly destroying the patrimony of the church and were oppressing with ruinous thefts the people and the clergy. Rejoicing, the king gave this brief response to them, "you recently helped me only with a prayer, I, in turn, will help you with your fight paying you back by the same law."[159]

[Lines 788-806]

Thus he spoke. Then he asked the counts in writing to stop damaging and despoiling the clergy and the churches. The counts instead persisted all the more keenly because of this and did not cease from causing even worse damage to the clergy and holy places, nor did they think it a great thing to be asked by the king, who should have been able to compel them to stop with the most minor command. Finally the clergy recognized with how much zeal and with how much effort the church should seek for itself the love of the king (obviously this disturbance taught them this) and how especially they should try to procure the king's favor for themselves, without which the patrimony of Christ cannot be defended. Soon they begged him and admitted their error to the king and they made satisfaction concerning the fact that he had received none of the requested aid from them for his wars. Immediately after this, the king armed himself for war and poured his troops into the lands of the counts and he compelled them to suffer many damages. Finally, everything they had taken from the people of the church they restored because the king obliged them to do so by this coercive force.

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[159] Though less famous for it then his contemporary Richard the Lionheart, Philip Augustus was known for his occasional sarcastic wit exemplified here. See Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 44 and Jacques Le Goff, "Philippe Auguste dans les 'Exempla,'" in *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le Temps des Mutations* (Paris, 1982) 145-155.

[Lines 807-814]

After this, for a year the land reposed untroubled by war, nor did anyone in the whole realm dare to contest the king or make war against his neighbor. Such a pleasant peace blessed the people in her way, but so lasting a peace, such a joy of holy peace, jealous fate was unable to bear for long. Bellona calls us back to war.[160] Sailor, prepare bigger sails, for an even greater sea remains for you to traverse.

[160] Bellona was the Roman (Latin) goddess of war.

Appendix I

Relevant Selections from William the Breton's *Epitome* of the *Chronicle* of Rigord

What follows is my English translation of the relevant sections of William the Breton's *Epitome* of the *Chronicle* of Rigord of St. Denis.[1] William composed this *Epitome* before publishing his second redaction of his original *Chronicle* of the deeds of Philip Augustus, sometime between 1214 and 1215, shortly before beginning the *Philippide*. I have generally omitted those sections which William did not include in Book I of the *Philippide*.[2] As with my translation of Book I of the *Philippide*, I have attempted to remain as faithful to the Latin as possible. However, it has occasionally been necessary to add words to render the text into legible English. All such additions are contained in brackets []. For the same reason, I have also often broken up some of William's lengthy sentences. It should also be noted that in the *Epitome*, William the Breton often included materials not found in Rigord's *Chronicle*, but which almost always also appear in the *Philippide*. All of William's original contributions are contained in braces { }.[3] As with the translation of Book I, I have followed the section breaks as labeled in Delaborde's edition, so that the interested reader may easily compare my translation to the original Latin. Finally, I have only provided minimal annotation for this translation, as most of the issues raised here are already addressed in the Introduction or the notes accompanying the translation of Book I.

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[1] On Rigord's *Chronicle*, William's *Epitome* and the relationship of the two, see above, pp. 45-54.
[2] The omitted sections are: 5-6, 13, 15, 26-7, 29-30, 32, 35-62 and thereafter. Although not specifically included in the *Philippide*, I have included sections 9, 10, 12, 17, 20, and 25 for the reasons noted below.
[3] These additions had already been indicated by brackets [] in H. François Delaborde's edition of the text in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, (Paris, 1885), v. I, 168-194, upon which this translation is based.

The Deeds of Philip Augustus

The Book of William the Breton

1. The deeds of magnanimous Philip, King of the Franks, which he nobly carried out from the first year of his anointment until the twentieth-eight year of his reign, are kept in the archives of the church of the arch-martyr Blessed Denis, committed to everlasting memory by Rigord, cleric of the same church, splendidly enough through the service of his discriminating pen. Since, however, the following deeds of this king are worthy not of inferior praise, but rather a much more excellent celebration, I William, Breton by nationality, presbyter by office, who was present for the greatest part not only for these deeds, but also for the previous deeds of this same king, and saw them with my own eyes, have committed these deeds to paper in plain and ordinary words. [I do so] not so that I therefore seem in any way to lie with praises and not so that I should deserve to be called either chronicler or historian, but rather so that it doesn't happen that such great deeds of such a great man be written by great and wise teachers in a manner other than the truth. And since the book of master Rigord is owned by few people and it has hitherto not been transmitted to the many, I have briefly touched upon all those things which are fully contained in it, and exactly as I have seen and understood them with my eyes, I have placed them in my book, briefly adding those things overlooked by him. I have thus confined in one concise volume the previous and subsequent deeds of the virtuous king. Therefore, let learned men for whom the vein of genius is more fertile both read this and understand the truth of history and, without stirring in falsehood, extol in a higher style

and with a true song the praises of the most Christian king and most vigorous man. For his great acts themselves suffice, if they be narrated truthfully and simply, and they demand such a truthful style, since they need no prop of falsehood to praise him. For often it happens that a writer, when he seeks to please, partially corrupts the series of deeds with lying; this I firmly believe must be avoided in every way when narrating the deeds of so great a man. And because the discussion held is about the kingdom of the Franks, our narration should begin with the origin of them, so that, with their origin known, we may more suitably begin the history of [Philip's] deeds. For first we must inquire about who a man is and where he comes from before inquiring about what he does.

2. As we have learned from the chronicles of Eusebius, Hidacius, Gregory of Tours and a great many others and the gathered narration of the ancients, Hector, son of Priam, had in turn a son by the name of Francio. Troilus, son of the same Priam, king of Asia, likewise is said to have had a son by the name of Turco. And so, after the destruction of Troy, the very great multitude escaped from that place [and] divided in two peoples. One chose Francio as their king after whom they were called Franks. The others elected Turco as their leader, from whom the Turks got their name, and who, with the same people who followed them from the destruction of Troy, penetrated north into lower Scythia and here they ruled. From him [Turco] are descended the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Normans, the Goths and the Vandals. However, Francio with his people came up to the Danube and built a city which he named Sicambria, and he ruled there; he

and those who came with him occupied all the land around the Danube and the Don, and around the Maeotidian marshes, and they grew into a great tribe.

3. However, after two-hundred and thirty years, twenty-three thousand [of them] broke off from them under the commander Hybor,[4] seeking a more suitable place to rule, and cutting across Alemannia, Germania and Austria they came into Gaul, and built a city there, {having come upon a most lovely and suitable place on the river Seine, which they called} Lutetia {because of the muddiness of the place}. However, from Paris, the son of Priam, they gave themselves the name of the "Parisii," 895 years before the incarnation of the Lord, or {rather} Parisia in Greek, which means "audacious," and so they were called Parisii. They stayed there from when they left Sicambria one thousand two-hundred and seventy years before the Franks came, and for a long time they led a rather simple life. They did not have a king, but rather everyone did what seemed right for himself. Then they were subjected to the Romans and they created annual consuls to rule the people, following the custom of the Romans, up until the arrival of the Franks.

4. However, Francio and those descended from him ruled Sicambria and in the surrounding lands for one thousand five-hundred and seven years; his son Marcomir succeeded him. When, however, these same Franks refused to pay tribute to the Romans, as [was] the custom of other nations, the Christian Emperor Valentinian, in the year AD 376, expelled them from there. Whereupon they went forth with the aforementioned Marcomir, with Somno, son of Antenor, and with Genebaud as leaders and they inhabited the realm called Austrasia, near the shores of the Rhine, between Germania and

[4] Rigord had called him "Ibor," as does William the Breton in Book I of the *Philippide*. See above, p. 77, n. 46.

Alemannia. When the same Valentinian fought them in many battles, but could not defeat them, he called them truly "Francos," as if "Ferancos" because of their ferocity. For the virtue of the Franks grew so much from that time that they conquered with incredible force all of Germany and Gaul up to the Pyrenees. After this, Somno and Genebaud remained there, that is, in Austrasia, [whereas] Marcomir with his Franks came after many battles to Lutetia, and here encountered the Parisii living simply. And when they understood that these people had once upon a time descended from the same tribe, {they joined with them and were made one people}.

{In those days, the Emperor Valentinian reigned, Pope Damasus ruled the church, and Augustine and Jerome were explaining the Holy Scriptures.}

[Sections 5 and 6 contain a lengthy excurses on the other descendents of the Trojans and their various legendary wanderings and foundations throughout Europe. These sections are mostly copied directly from Rigord, however, William has added material about Brutus, the legendary founder of Britain and has introduced the person of Turnus, not present in Rigord, as the legendary founder of Tours.]

7. And so Marcomir was honorably received by the Parisii and he taught them the use of arms, and due to frequent raids of thieves and enemies, he had the cities walled, and he was made the defender of all of Gaul. He had a son, a mighty soldier by the name of Pharamund, who was the first of the Franks to be distinguished with the diadem, {however, he was not Christian}. Then, because it pleased the Parisii, the city of Lutetia, had its name changed [and] it began to be called Paris. After Pharamund, his son Clodius

reigned; after Clodius, his son Meroveus [Merovich]; after Meroveus, his son Childric. Childric sired Clovis, who was the first king of the Franks to become Christian {and with the greatest miracle of God was baptized by blessed Remigius, archbishop of Rheims}.

8.[5] {When the most blessed prelate was catechizing king Clovis, the vessel in which was contained the holy oil fell and broke. Indeed, [it was] by the devil's doing, who was suffering greatly from these circumstances very favorable to the Christians. And because of this, many advised the king not to undergo baptism, saying that if God wanted him to become Christian, he would by no means have permitted the vase to be broken, but immediately they learned that *all things work together for good for those who are called according to the plan of God.*[6] For the holy prelate, with the King and all the others watching, obtained from God through holy prayers and tears, a heavenly vase, full of angelic oil, by the hands of an angel sent by God Himself and openly and in the presence of all it was placed into the hands of the praying bishop. By this [oil], not only the same Clovis, but also all the kings of the Franks are forever consecrated, through which the honor of the kingdom and the kings of France incomparably exceeds the whole world}.

9.[7] Clovis sired Clothar; Clothar [begat] Chilperic; Chilperic [sired] Clothar [II]; Clothar [fathered] Dagobert, who founded and liberally endowed the church of the martyr Dionysius the Areopagite [St. Denis]. Dagobert [sired] Clovis [II]; Clovis [II] by Saint

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[5] This completely original section about the baptism of Clovis plays an important role in the narrative arc of Book I of the *Philippide*. See the Introduction, above, pp. 50 –53.
[6] Romans VIII, 28.
[7] The genealogy presented here is the one promised by William at ll. 209-218 of Book I of the *Philippide*, to be represented by a genealogical tree not included in either the London or the Paris manuscripts and only incompletely in the Vatican manuscript. See above, p. 84, n. 74.

Batilde fathered Childeric, Clothar [III] and Theodoric; Childeric [begat] Dagobert [II], {under whom Ebronius was mayor of the palace, who is written about in the life of Leodegarius}. Dagobert [begat] Theoderic; Theoderic [sired] Clothar [IV]. After Clothar, reigned Aubert. Aubert sired Arnold; Arnold, [begat] St. Arnulf, who was later bishop of Metz. Arnulf sired Anchises or Ansegisus; Ansegisus or Ansegisilus, [begat] Pipin; Pipin, [begat] Charles Martel [who] sired Pipin {the Short}, Pipin {the short and Berta} produced Charles the Great [Charlemagne] the Emperor. Charlemagne, the Emperor Louis the Pius; Louis the Pius, Charles the Bald, the Emperor. This Charles the Bald brought to the church of Blessed Denis the nail and the crown of thorns and many other most valuable gifts. Charles the Bald sired Louis {the White or the Stammerer} [and] King Louis [begat] Charles the Simple.

10.[8] In those days came the Dacians or Danes from Scythia under duke Rollo and they subjugated all of Neustria to themselves, which they called Normandy, in a word composed from these two words "Nort" which means "north" and "man" which means "man." {But they plundered both Brittany and many other regions in the kingdom of France and they destroyed all the churches. But also Luni, a city in Tuscany which was most prosperous in those days, they thoroughly destroyed, thinking, so it is said, that it was Rome. Thereafter, they returned to France and they eventually made a treaty with Charles the Simple.} And the same Rollo took the daughter of the same Charles the Simple as his wife, and was baptized and called Robert, and all the other Normans were made Christians with him in the year of the incarnation of the Lord, 912.

[8] William only refers to this section tangentially when he discusses the city of Autun at Book I, ll. 565-579, (above, p. 99). However, since this genealogy informs much of William's understanding of the people and places of the *Philippide*, and since it has its own intrinsic value, I decided not to omit it.

{From the line of that same Rollo or Robert}, many years later, William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, {because of the treason which Harold the king had carried out against his wife, sister of the same William}, crossed the channel into England. {He defeated and killed the same Harold in war and} subjugated the whole land to himself and so the kings {of the Saxon race, who in turn had violently driven out the Britons}, were extinct.

{For the aforementioned Rollo sired William Long-Sword, who sired Richard, after whom ruled his brother Robert, who sired William the Bastard, king of England, who sired king William whom his brother Henry succeeded as king.}

From the family of this same Robert, Humfrey VII conquered Apulia. His son Robert, surnamed Guiscard, added Calabria. {However, this whole conquest is ascribed to Guiscard alone}. Bohemund [I of Antioch] added Sicily. {But Duke Roger, who after these events invested himself with the diadem, added Africa. Wherefore on his shield was written this verse in golden letters: *Apulia and Calabria, Sicily and Africa serve me*[9]}.

11. Charles the Simple sired Louis, {who did nothing}; Louis sired Lothar, Lothar sired Louis, the last of this royal line. When he died {without an heir}, the Franks elected for themselves as king, Hugh Capet, duke of Burgundy {or Allobrogia}. Hugh Capet sired Robert; Robert [begat] Hugh, Henry and their brother Eudes, in the time of Pope Leo IX, in the year of the incarnation of the Lord, 1050. After Henry, reigned Philip, who sired Louis the Fat. Louis the Fat sired Philip and Louis, but when Philip, {on the day of the

[9] The line of verse is in dactylic hexameter, the meter of epic and of William's *Philippide*: "Apulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer." All other contemporary references to this motto say that the inscription was on Roger's sword, not his shield. I have not been able to uncover a reason for this variance.

martyrdom of Blessed Gervase of Paris [October 14], in an incredible circumstance} was felled {to the ground} by a pig {which came under the feet of his horse and} he was killed and Louis the Pious [VII] succeeded his father Louis the Fat in rule.[10] Louis the Pious sired, {through a miracle in his old age,} Magnanimous Philip, {who now rules, [and] who is called "given by God" because his most holy father was always asking God for a male offspring and he always begged all religious men to pray to the Lord for him} because he had many daughters but no son. Finally, his prayers were heeded, and a son was given to him by God. {This, of course, [is] Philip who now reigns,} who was born to [Louis] in the year of the Lord 1165, in the month of August, on the 11th day before the Kalends of September [21 August], on the feast of Timothy and Symphorianus.

12.[11] {This Louis, when all the abbots of the Cistercian order had come together in the same monastery, as is their custom, as they do each year, he prostrated himself in prayer with his hands wide, in the chapter house, among them. And when they all cried out that he get up, [he said that] he never wanted to lift his body from the ground until, having poured out his prayer to the Lord, they could assure him on behalf of God that he soon would have had a male offspring}.

Incidentals[12]

[10] This story is contained in Suger's *Deeds of Louis the Fat* (pp. 149-150), however, no date is given. Suger specifically said that the pig which tripped Philip's horse was "diabolical," and this editorial may have inspired William's similar description of the boar that leads Philip Augustus astray on the hunt that preceded the failed coronation attempt of August 1179. See above, pp. 84-5.

[11] This section is not directly included in Book I of the *Philippide*, but only alluded to at the end of Louis VII's lengthy prayer to Thomas Becket at ll. 275-319. See above, pp. 87-8.

[12] William the Breton, as Rigord before him, often included events not directly related to Philip Augustus under the heading "*Incidentia*." However, Rigord's *Incidentia* are almost always confined to celestial phenomena, such as eclipses. William the Breton evidently had little interest in such things, since he omits

13. [Section 13 discusses the troubled succession to the county of Brittany in the 1160s, which was not included in the *Philippide*.]

14. {Not long after those days, blessed Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, for the right and liberty of his church, was ejected from his seat by the violence of Henry, King of England, and he was honorably received by Louis [VII] the Pious, King of the Franks. In the end, [when] he returned to his See, he suffered martyrdom in the year of the Lord 1170.[13] Louis came to pray at the tomb [of the same Thomas Becket], and when he was about to leave, he finished his prayer before the tomb thusly: "Holy host, I once received you, but I honored you less than I should have. For you joyfully received that which my poverty furnished you and you said that, if in the future God granted you the ability, you would repay that which I did for you. Recently, God gave you the ability and therefore repay me as you promised. Hence, support and protect my son Philip."[14]}

15. [Section 15 recounts the murder of Haimo, bishop of Leon, which was not included in the *Philippide*.]

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almost all of those that had been recorded by Rigord, and instead typically uses the *Incidentia* heading to introduce materials concerning Breton politics, as he has done here.

[13] William the Breton actually says 1171, however, since Saint Thomas Becket died December 29, 1170, it would seem that William was using a calendar which reckoned the beginning of the year from Christmas day.

[14] This entire section represents perhaps the most important original addition by William the Breton to his *Epitome* of Rigord's *Chronicle*. It is curious that here William leaves out, however, the reason for Louis' pilgrimage and prayer. Instead, Rigord had covered in a lengthy section of his *Chronicle* (3) Philip's misadventure on the hunt prior to the first attempt to crown him in August 1179, but said nothing about Louis' pilgrimage to Becket's tomb. In Book I of the *Philippide*, William combined Rigord's account of young Philip Augustus' hunting mishap and subsequent illness, left out here, with the account of Louis' pilgrimage and prayer, which William has added. On this important addition and its role in the *Philippide*, see the Introduction, pp. 47-50, 56-60.

16. In the year of the Lord 1179, magnanimous Philip is consecrated as king on the feast of All Saints, with his {70 year old} father Louis the Pious still living.

17.[15] The same magnanimous Philip heard from his peers and intimates, while he, as often [happened], was playing in the palace, that the Jews sacrificed one Christian every single year, {and they made communion for themselves of his heart. And therefore because of this, he conceived a grudge against them, [and so] he determined to expel all of them from his kingdom}.

In those days, holy Richard was crucified by Jews and suffered martyrdom. His body rests in the church of the Holy Innocents of Paris in the place called Champeaux, and where his miracles are made through prayers {up until this very day}.

18. In the same year in which magnanimous Philip was crowned, Hebo in the district of Berry, Imbert, {in the region of Lyon}, and the count of Chalon took up oppressing the churches and attacking the clergy and they attempted to overthrow the liberties and immunities of the churches. But the magnanimous King, wanting to consecrate the first fruits of his arms to God and the churches, with his army gathered, vanquished them with a strong hand and he reestablished the liberties for the churches.

19. In the same year, many leading men of his realm made a conspiracy against him, but he defeated them all in war, quicker than expected and [so] he received them, humbled,

[15] William the Breton did not actually included anything recorded in this section in Book I of the *Philippide*, but it certainly seems to have informed his discussion of Philip's actions toward the Jews, especially at Book I, ll. 371-373, above, p. 91. It is interesting that the material added ostensibly serves to further "justify" Philip's actions toward the Jews.

back into his grace. {Among them, there was especially Stephen, count of Sancerre, the fortified town which was called Avaricon in the time of Julius Caesar. Even though Stephen was the uncle of the king himself, as he was the brother of Queen Adele, he dared to attack the king in war. However, not being strong enough to stand against the royal greatness, [he was] conquered in no time, [and] with his arrogance set aside, he submitted his neck to the authority of the king}.[16]

20.[17] In the year of the Lord 1180, the second of the reign of magnanimous Philip, on the Ascension of the Lord, magnanimous Philip took again the crown for himself in the church of St. Denis, and at the same time, the venerable Queen Isabel, his wife [who was] the daughter of count Baldwin of Hainault, was anointed.

21. In the same year, on the 14th Kalends of October, Thursday, [18 September, 1180] the most pious King Louis, father of the same magnanimous Philip, died in the royal city. His body was carried to the monastery {of the Cistercian order} which he had founded, named Barbeellum, and {it was embalmed with incense and} buried with honor.

22. {In the year of the Lord 1181, magnanimous Philip, seeking to please God and Christ with his very first deeds, prohibited that anyone, in jest or otherwise, presume to swear on the head, belly, or any other limb of God in blasphemy. And because he hated the Jews

[16] It is noteworthy that, although this section is drawn from Rigord (9), it is only William the Breton who in the provides any names and therefore allows the identification of this rebellion with that of the House of Champagne.

[17] This section is not included in Book I of the *Philippide*, but I have included it since Baldwin has suggested that this marriage was the pretext for Philip's conflict with the House of Champagne recorded in the previous section. See above, p. 96, n. 112.

and because he heard many of their blasphemies on the name of Jesus Christ}, he absolved all debtors from their debts to them, keeping 1/5 of the total sum in the fisc.[18]

23. In the year of the Lord 1182, magnanimous Philip expelled all Jews from the realm, with a grace period given to the same Jews for selling their chattels and for preparing those things that were necessary for their coming departure before he expelled them all. However, their houses and vineyards and other possessions he retained for the fisc.

24. In the year of the Lord 1183, magnanimous Philip had churches built in the name of Jesus Christ and his saints everywhere throughout the cities and towns, wherever there had been the synagogues of the Jews.

25. {In the same year, magnanimous Philip, concerned about the augmentation of the realm and the state of the fisc, took back the markets which are called Saint Lazare from the house of Parisian lepers and he applied [their profits] to the fisc. [Instead], with the consent of the lepers and the ministers of that place, the king assigned to them an annual pension, based on an estimate [of the profit] of the markets, which they received each year from the fisc without hardship or disturbance}.[19]

[Section 26 recounts the walling of Vincennes.]

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[18] Here it is noteworthy that, as above in Section 17, William the Breton has felt it necessary to further specify the reasons for the actions taken by Philip Augustus against the Jews.

[19] Although not directly included in Book I of the *Philippide*, it is presumably this act that allowed for the construction of the new marketplace and cemetery walls at Champeaux, as recorded at Book I, ll. 436-452, above, pp. 93-4. This survives as Act 27, as recorded in Delisle's *Catalogue des Actes*, 8. Delisle gives a date of 1181 and the amount of the pension was 300 *livres parisiennes*.

[Section 27 recounts the death of Henry the young King of England on 11 June, 1183.]

28. In the same year in the county of Berry, 7,000 Cotereaux, who are commonly called Ruptarii [routiers], were killed in a single day. They had invaded the borders of the kingdom, sparing no one because of age, or sex, or order or holy place, but every single person they either killed or by various tortures compelled them to pour out money for their ransom. Upon hearing this, the king sent his army in assistance of the men of that province, [and] all, from the greatest to the least [of them], were slaughtered.

[In sections 29 and 30, William discusses the outbreak of hostilities between Philip Augustus, and Philip, Count of Flanders and the subsequent miracle of the crops. These events are contained in Book II of the *Philippide*.]

31. Some number of days after this, Hugh, Duke of the Allobroges, besieged Vergy. And although he was warned by the king, he did not want to lift the siege. So the king, having gathered the army, came in response to the supplication of Guido, lord of this castle and he set the duke to flight from the siege. Not long after, the same King Philip, moved by the repeated requests [for help] and the damages [done to] the churches which the rebellious duke was oppressing, besieged Châtillon, a most noble castle situated on the river Seine, and he took it by force. He compelled the duke, willing or not, to restore to the churches and the clergy the 30,000 pounds, which he [Duke Hugh] had violently

stolen from them, based on the damages which were estimated to have been inflicted by him.

[Section 32, which describes the marriage of Margaret, the sister of Philip, to King Bela of Hungary, is not included in the *Philippide*.]

33. Around the same time, magnanimous Philip, disturbed with pious and royal indignation about the insufferable state of the mud of the streets of the city of Paris, had all the streets within the gates paved with square stones. And then for the first time the city lost the quality of the ancient name by which it was called, Lutetia, "Mud-hole."[20] {At his encouragement, other cities and towns laid out all their streets, plazas, bridges and entries and exits within the gates with very hard, square stones}.

34. {In the year of the Lord 1186}, magnanimous Philip, always wanting to please God with holy works, had a public cemetery of an extraordinary size and beauty made in the place which is called Champeaux by the Holy Innocents of Paris and surrounded and decorated it with a stone wall, {because of the warning of an old widow who said that this had been revealed to her in a vision}.

[Most of the events of Sections 35-62 are contained in Book II and Book III of the *Philippide*.]

[20] It is only here that Rigord inserts the myth of the Trojan origins of the Franks and the lengthy genealogy of the Kings of France. Rigord's version is somewhat shorter than that of William the Breton, contained above at Sections 3 -11.

63. In the following March [1192], near the castle which is called Brie [Comte-Robert], with the Countess Brena[21], mother of count Robert, allowing it, the Jews crucified some Christian after having crowned him with thorns and clubbed him through the streets. When he heard this, magnanimous Philip, struck with pity for the Christian, came in person to the aforementioned town and had 80 Jews and more burned to death.[22]

[21] Delaborde (*Œuvres*, v. I, 194, n. 3) says "tous les mss. excepté le ms. Cotton portent *permittente comitissa Campanie*."
[22] On the dating, location and identity of the countess, see Jordan, *French Monarchy and the Jews*, 35-37 and above, p. 107, n. 154.

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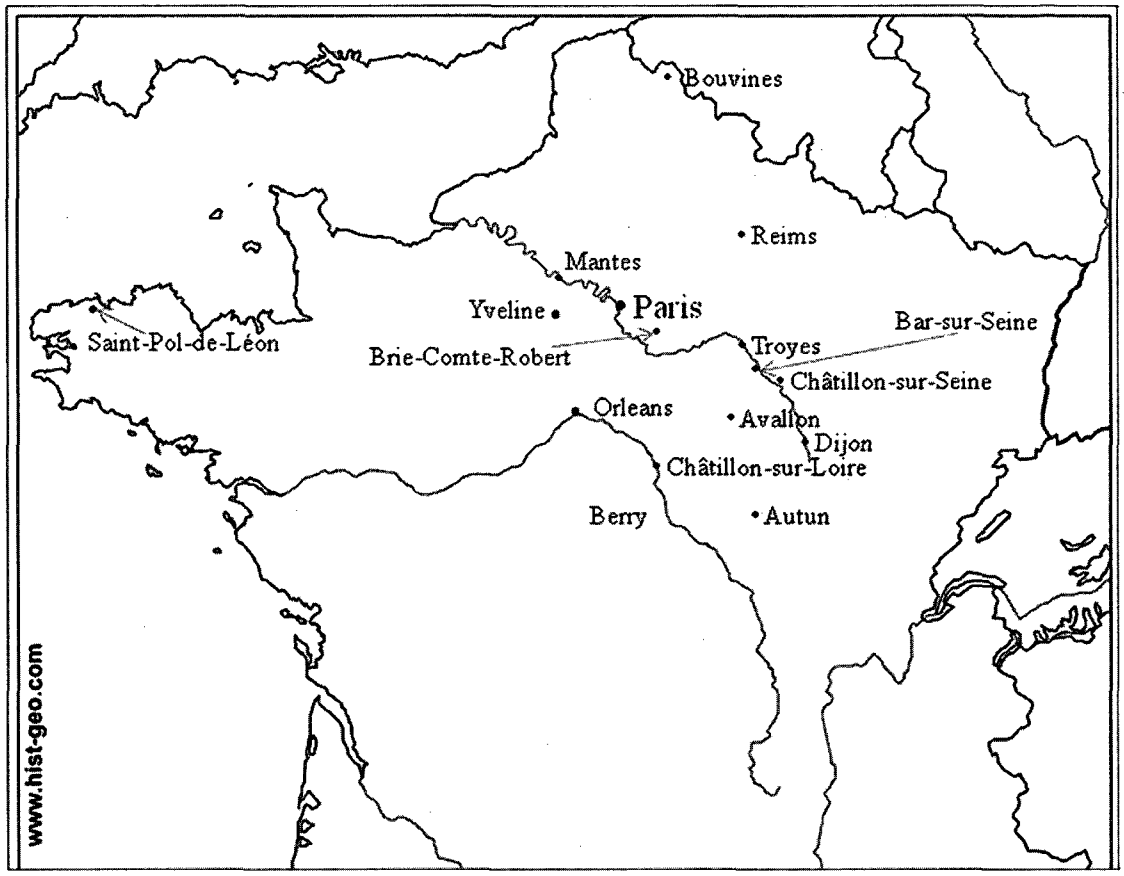

Map – The Sites of Book I of the *Philippide*.

Adapted from "Blank Map of France with Rivers" from www.hist-geo.co.uk.